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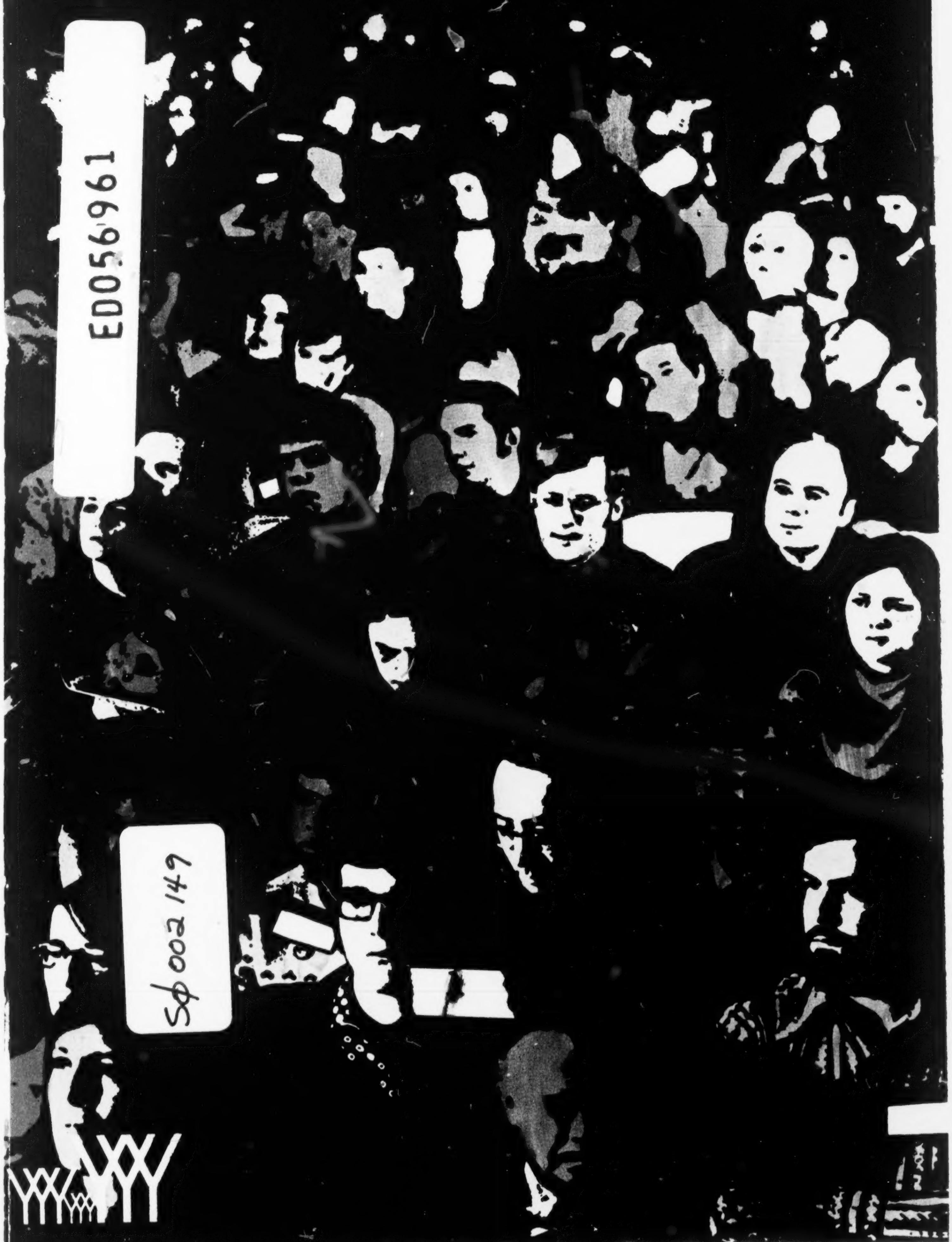
ABSTRACT

The proposals reported here evolved out of the conference held in Estes Park, Colorado April 18-22, 1971 to find new approaches to ten major issues, and new ways for youth between the ages of 14 and 24 to become more involved in the decision-making processes of the social and political institutions of the United States. 918 youth delegates were invited to represent the national demographic variables: geography, race, sex, age, and current status with respect to school, work, or unemployment; they tended to be actively involved in their communities. The power structure was represented by 500 invited adults from education, business and industry, labor, media, religion, foundations, national organizations, and the arts. Over 500 proposals are included here on: 1) the Draft, National Service, and Alternatives; 2) Drugs; 3) Economy and Employment; 4) the Environment; 5) Foreign Relations; 6) Legal Rights and Justice; 7) Poverty; 8) Race and Minority Group Relations; and, 9) Values, Ethics, and Culture. In summary, there were six apparent themes that ran through all of the work of the conference: 1) Youth Involvement, Rights, and Representation; 2) Community, Self-Control and Participation; 3) Equality and Pluralism; 4) Libertarianism as a freedom to choose ones own way of life; 5) Humanization: individual, social, and economic; and, 6) Humanitarianism. (Author/SBE)

Report of the
White House Conference
on Youth



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Report of the White House Conference on Youth

April 18–22, 1971
Estes Park, Colorado

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Introduction

CONTINENTAL TRAILWAYS
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Introduction

The 1971 White House Conference on Youth was a unique event in the public life of the nation. It was the first time that a White House Conference has been devoted solely to the concerns of young people. It was the first time that a majority of delegates to a White House Conference were young people. It was the first national gathering that made a careful attempt to have its participants truly reflect the diversity of American youth. And its outcome—surprising to many—should give pause to those who have insisted that there is a divisive, even dangerous, "generation gap" in the United States.

When on December 5, 1969, President Nixon appointed me as National Chairman of the White House Conference on Children and Youth, he asked that I "listen well to the voices of young Americans—in the universities, on the farms, the assembly lines, the street corners." The President stated:

> At a time when government often seems far away and immovable—when many of our youth are rightly asking, "Who's listening? Who cares?"—I hope this White House Conference, especially through the active involvement of a great many young people, will provide the answer.

This then was our mandate.

The First White House Conference on Youth

While the White House Conference on Children and Youth is a venerable institution in American life, dating back to 1909 and having been held since then once each decade, past conferences have been largely adult-run and child-related. This conference, however, came at a time when young people were increasingly questioning the responsiveness of all major institutions, and were seeking a greater opportunity to participate in the decisions that affect their lives.

Thus it was decided to have two separate conferences, giving the concerns of children and of youth their own national platforms. The White House Conference on Children was held on December 13-18, 1970, and the first White House Conference on Youth convened at Estes Park, Colorado, on April 18, 1971.

The Conference Design

In planning the Conference, we were repeatedly told by young people that they did not wish merely to talk to each other; they wanted a meeting with "the adults who count" in our society. Moreover, they wanted to deal with the issues. In short, they wanted not so much a conference *on* youth as a conference primarily *of* youth and *on* those issues of highest priority to the nation.

Therefore, the Conference needed to provide a process of interaction and communication between young people and adults in positions of authority in various institutions, both governmental and non-governmental. Two-thirds of the delegates would be young people between the ages of 14 and 24; one-third would be adults.

The goals would be to find new approaches to major issues and new ways for youth to become more involved in the decision-making process. The ten issue areas in which the delegates were asked to seek a common ground of understanding and agreement were:

The Draft, National Service and Alternatives
Drugs
Economy and Employment
Education
Environment
Foreign Relations
Legal Rights and Justice
Poverty
Race and Minority Group Relations
Values, Ethics and Culture

The Advisory Task Forces

During the summer of 1970 an advisory task force consisting of eight youths and four adults was appointed in each of the subject areas. Each group was co-chaired by an adult and a youth. The 120 task force members met together in late August at the Irvine Campus of the University of California to define the scope of their work and to plan their operations for the following six months.

At Irvine the members of each advisory task force received a report assessing the current status of government and private programs and policies relating to their issue, which had been prepared for them as a point of departure by 45 summer interns. The task forces were to carry this work forward by providing draft recommendations for Conference consideration. They were asked to put their emphasis on specific implementable proposals directed to all of the nation's institutions.

In addition, the advisory task force members began to define the character of the Conference. They recommended:

1. That the Conference be held outside of Washington in order to encourage the maximum interaction between youth and adult delegates. It was felt that the Irvine meeting demonstrated the effectiveness of a semi-remote setting: adults were not distracted by their other commitments and an informal setting was most conducive to serious work. The staff, however, was directed not to select a college campus since it was felt important to underscore that this was to be a *youth* conference, not a *student* conference.

2. That delegates to the Conference be a demographic cross-section of American youth. Since the Conference was to be divided into subject areas, it was decided that ethnic youth should be somewhat over-represented so that the numerically small minority groups could have adequate representation on all task forces. Delegates were also expected to have shown some interest in the subject area to which he or she would be assigned. State committees on children and youth and national organizations were expected to sponsor approximately 700 of the 1000 youth delegates.

3. That 100 international delegates be invited to participate in the Conference.

At the close of the meeting, President Nixon invited a group of the advisory task force members to meet with him at the Western White House in nearby San Clemente and urged them to reach out across the country to gather the views of as many youth as possible in preparing their reports for the Conference.

The Advisory Reports

During the period of September, 1970, to March, 1971, each task force met several times to hold hearings, to review position papers, and to draft their advisory reports to the delegates. One of the more remarkable aspects of this effort was the emphasis the members of the advisory task forces placed on gaining information through hearings with other youth groups. They traveled from San Francisco to San Juan, from New York City to New Orleans, listening to a multitude of points of view.

Those concerned with the environment, for example, traveled to seven regions. In California they met with inner-city black youths in Watts and with middle-class white youth in the San Fernando Valley. They spoke with Mexican-American youth in San Antonio and with rural black youth in south Macon County, Alabama. They held sessions with Indian youth on the Pima Reservation at Gila River, Arizona, with rural white youth in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and with Appalachian youth in Eastern Kentucky.

Members of the Advisory Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations held informal hearings with Asian-American youth in San Francisco, with black urban youth in Washington, D.C., and black Southern youth in New Orleans, with Puerto Rican youth in New York City, and with Indian and Chicano youth in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Some groups took a different tack. The Foreign Relations Advisory Task Force, for instance, commissioned a professional nationwide survey of youth attitudes on American foreign policy. Similarly, the Future Teachers of America conducted a national poll of student attitudes for the Education Task Force, which posed such questions as, "How do you think school can be made more relevant?" "What are your recommendations for insuring equal education opportunity for all students?" and "What would you recommend to reduce school dropouts?"

The Legal Rights and Justice Advisory Task Force combined both approaches. Traveling to New Orleans, it met with 20 students from universities in the area to discuss the legal relationships between student and college. In addition, the Task Force members designed and distributed to 1,600 youth across the country questionnaires on such subjects as "Youth and the Police" and "Student Rights and Responsibilities."

The reports were completed by March 15, 1971, and were sent to the delegates with a questionnaire asking for their reactions to the reports prior to the Conference, and for their suggestions for additional issues to be discussed. On the basis of these responses, each task force set its tentative agenda for the April Conference.

The Youth Delegates

One of the elements that most distinguished the 1971 White House Conference on Youth from the many previous attempts to bring together large numbers of young people was the representativeness of the participants.

This is not to say that the delegates were randomly selected. We did not blindly invite every 10th or 20th person in the United States between the ages of 14 and 24. Rather, within the demographic variables used—geography, race, sex, age, current status (in school or working or unemployed)—the delegates tended to be actively involved in their communities. Thus if we sought a rural, white, high school male, the odds were that he was also the president of his class or in some way had displayed a knowledge of one of the ten subject areas of the Conference. One could also assume that he would most likely become a voter, a worker in political and community causes, and a more-than-average participant in the affairs of his city, state, and nation.

We did not totally succeed in meeting our selection goals. Five percent fewer working youth showed up at Estes Park than had been invited. There were three percent fewer females there than in the youth population. On the other hand, 38.8 percent of the youth delegates were high school students, which is their exact percentage of the population. It is thus difficult to attribute action taken at the Conference to statistical bias in our selection.

	# Attending	% Attending	National Percentage
TOTAL	918	100%	100%
Male	492	53.6	50.6
Female	426	46.4	49.4
Indian	30	3.3	.3
Black	143	15.6	11.2
Mexican American	53	5.8	4.4
Puerto Rican	19	2.1	1.2
Oriental	21	2.3	.5
White and Other	652	71.0	82.4
Military	40	4.4	5.9
College	204	22.2	15.6
High School	356	38.8	38.8
Vocational School	20	34.6	39.7
Working	278		
Volunteer	6		
Unemployed	14		

Among the youth delegates were authors, state legislators, beauticians, laborers, a college president and the nation's youngest dean of women, as well as young people who had been victimized by both physical and social handicaps.

Among the delegates to the Draft, National Service and Alternatives Task Force were a U. S. Marine and the recipient of three bronze stars for combat in Vietnam, the President of the Junior Young Buddhists, the Director of the National Council to Repeal the Draft, and a recipient of the Columbia University Book Award.

The Legal Rights and Justice Task Force delegates included a 17-year-old unwed mother who spent two years in a Connecticut correctional institution, a Massachusetts youth who works as a probation officer for the Boston Municipal Court, and a young lady who serves on the Burbank (California) City Youth Council.

While the majority of youth delegates were chosen from names submitted by State committees on children and youth and by national organizations, a substantial number were nominated by community organizations and by private citizens. Advisory task force members aided in the selection process and the co-chairmen retained the prerogative of review for those assigned to their task forces.

The Adult Delegates

The 500 invited adults were chosen to represent the "power structure"; they were, as I said in my opening remarks at the Conference, "the type of people who must understand what young people believe if this Conference is to move from recommendations to action."

A delegate selection committee of advisory task force members and representatives from various institutions was convened for each subject area to identify a pool of institutional leaders to whom invitations should be sent. Adults were drawn from such sources as Federal, state and local governments, education, business and industry, labor, media, religion, foundations, national organizations and the arts. The adult delegates at Estes Park included 10 members of Congress, 14 presidents of colleges or universities, 8 judges, and 7 mayors.

The Conference, April 18-22

The Conference site was the "YMCA of the Rockies" at Estes Park, Colorado. As one youth delegate from Illinois later wrote:

> We met amid the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, 7,500 feet above sea level and 1,800 miles from Washington. The camp was a complex of buildings spread among small rises, and surrounded and secluded by towering peaks. Because of the setting, the Conference was an informal affair. We did not have to concern ourselves with the special conditioning and mind-set a city demands. I was pleased to be out among the mountains. I believe the mood was less rigid and useful because of them. I found it much easier to respond truthfully there than I did in a traditional meeting situation with its peculiar stigmas.

While the site fulfilled the Irvine recommendation for an isolated setting, there were still present well over 100 members of the press (including all the TV networks), insuring that what happened would be relayed to the nation. Indeed, media coverage far exceeded that generated by the larger White House Conference on Children in Washington, D. C.

The 1,486 delegates were divided equally into the ten subject areas, with approximately 50 adults and 100 youth on each task force. All meetings were open to observers sent by the governors, national organizations, and the press.

Mechanisms were established so that issues of concern to more than one task force could be discussed on a conference-wide basis or by delegations from several task forces meeting together. For example, on Monday evening, April 19, the Foreign Relations Task Force sponsored a session on Indochina in the largest meeting hall which attracted over 300 delegates. The Environment Task Force held separate evening meetings with business executives and government officials. Interesting evening film programs were planned by several of the task forces, and there were informal coffeehouses where music was provided by a rock band composed of delegates from Wisconsin.

A committee elected by the delegates from each task force was charged with planning the final plenary session. It quickly devised a caucus system by which delegates with shared concerns could address the Conference outside of the task force structure. A simple procedure for registering caucuses was set up, with no requirements as to minimum number or relevancy of issues. This procedure, operating on good faith, allowed a group, no matter how small, to speak at the final session of the Conference and to have its recommendations printed in the final report. Some 24 caucuses registered in all, ranging from ethnic groups to a caucus concerned with the Alaskan pipeline. In addition, most caucus members continued to work within their assigned task forces and the leaders of the ethnic caucuses were included as members of the Conference's governing body.

The delegate committee felt it would be futile to attempt to debate and vote upon all the recommendations (which turned out to be over 550) at a final plenary session attended by nearly 1500 delegates. They also decided not to ask the Conference to assign priorities to the recommendations, feeling that all recommendations drafted by the task forces should have equal weight. However, all task forces and caucuses had the right to bring their recommendations before the Conference for a vote, but the vote was "in no way to indicate priorities of the Conference". And finally, whether they had an issue on the ballot or not, all task forces and caucuses were allotted time at the final plenary session to report their actions to the general body. Also at the final session, the Conference Preamble was read, having been drafted by the Values, Ethics and Culture Task Force.

The Results

Many predicted in advance that the Youth Conference was doomed from the start. It was convened by "the establishment"; it deliberately chose to deal with the most controversial issues facing the nation; it selected the delegates *because* of their diversity; it asked the delegates to formulate specific implementable recommendations within a period of three-and-a-half days.

Yet by almost all accounting the *process* of the Conference was an overwhelming success.

The following is from an interview in the University of Denver *Clarion* with James Simon Kunen, author of *The Strawberry Statement* and a delegate to the Conference:

> *Clarion:* Do you think that the Gestalt of the entire conference was worthwhile? A lot of people are saying that just the experience was rewarding and that it is incredible that this demographic collection, even if it is supposedly slanted toward the White House, could come up with these proposals.
>
> *Kunen:* Especially if it's slanted toward the White House, I'm still tripping out on that. That's right, it's not what these suggestions are going to do, it's the process by which these suggestions were arrived at. It's the fact that I found out there are many compassionate kids all over this country. Girl Scouts from Texas, 4-H Clubs in Nebraska, I'm very excited about it.

There was shouting, disagreement, and controversy to be sure. But there were also long hours of positive discussion, with virtually no split between youth and adults on most major issues. This can be attributed in large part to the seriousness of the participants, the flexibility of the program, the willingness of the Conference to hear those with special concerns, and the resiliency of the delegates to the adversity which came in the form of an unseasonal blizzard that lasted the duration of the Conference.

A poll of the delegates taken by CBS at the final session reported that 73% of the delegates felt the Conference was a success, with the 15% who categorized it as unsuccessful being divided almost equally between those who rated themselves either radical or conservative.

The representativeness of the participants combined with the noninflammatory manner in which they performed their task means to me that we as a nation now have a special obligation to study well what they said.

The Conference Themes

The specific recommendations of the Conference, which comprise the body of this volume, speak for themselves. I shall not try to summarize the over 550 proposals made by the delegates. But I would like to take this opportunity to try to state some of the basic themes that run through all of the work of the Conference.

These themes are six in number. Together, I feel, they comprise a set of criteria by which policy-makers and others can judge how young Americans will respond to any given action. (One could suggest that if any proposed action meets all of these criteria it *will* be accepted by youth; if it meets a majority of the criteria it *may* be accepted by youth, and so forth.)

1. *Youth Involvement:* Whether it was the call for Youth Opportunity Programs in employment or the devising of a statement on the rights and responsibilities of students or proposals for youth representation on such bodies as the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and the National Council on the Arts, the delegates who came to Estes Park were not seeking to escape from "the system". Rather, they were demanding a greater voice in the decisions that affect their lives.

This comes at a time when governmental and educational policies in particular have tended to prolong that period of life which we call "youth". While we know that young people reach physical maturity at an earlier age than ever before and that, judging from such evidence as College Board scores, they have more knowledge than their fathers had at the same age, our technological, credentials-oriented culture now admits young people to full participation in society at a much later age. For example, the need to get "accredited", whether it be with a PhD or an MD, may mean that a young person today enters the world of work and familial responsibilities a full decade later than his or her parents.

Clearly young people are seeking "anti-dependency" measures, measures which shorten the period between childhood and adulthood. This may take the form of seeking the right to vote in all elections at age 18 or the across-the-board lowering of the legal age of majority by the states (as has already been done in Vermont, Tennessee and Michigan).

It should be pointed out that young people are not asking for "separate-but-equal" representation. This, of course, was recognized in the design of the Conference. And based on this experience—youth and adults together dealing with the most critical issues of the day—it is my opinion that there is no unusual generation gap in the United States at this time.

Out of the hundreds of issues discussed, there were only two on which there were appreciable differences in the way youth and adults voted: these were the legalization of marijuana and the "People's Peace Treaty", a cause of the National Student Association. Ideological differences among the delegates, yes; generational differences, no. As Fred Hechinger, the Education Editor of the New York *Times*, wrote, the Conference "raised serious doubts about the proposition that youth is as separate an interest group as legend and sociology often make it appear."

2. *Community Control/Participation:* The Youth Conference delegates generally proposed programs that vested control in—or at least substantial participation by—those most affected. Paradoxically perhaps, they usually recommended that these programs should be Federally-funded.

While the delegates approved the creation of the new Action Corps, they specifically opposed the concept of a large centrally-directed program. Instead they preferred to see the Action Corps support "projects which are locally conceived and directed, projects which take their direction from people who serve in them and from the people in the communities who are served."

Likewise, the Drugs Task Force called for Federal money to allow the individual community to "implement a variety of prevention and treatment programs appropriate to the particular needs of the drug abuser and his community"; the Education Task Force saw education as more relevant "when the school is viewed as a laboratory within the community" and proposed that every high school and college establish a course on the school and its community; the Poverty Task Force (though not the Education Task Force) advocated "full community control of schools for poverty areas"; the Environment Task Force felt that "urban human ecology must be a people-oriented movement stressing community involvement" and defined community involvement as "grass roots participation in planning and implementation of all programs involving the social and physical well-being of people"; the legal Rights and Justice Task Force contended that "the individual police officer should make every effort to become involved in the community he serves" and civilian community review boards should be established on the precinct level; and, as the final example, the Task Force on Values, Ethics and Culture asked for "the development of local cable television systems which would be subject to local community control and local community ownership."

3. *Equality/Pluralism:* From the opening Preamble, and running through all the work of the Conference, there is a recurring theme that the high ideals upon which this country was founded have never been a reality for all its people. The delegates demanded an end to discriminatory practices, overt and more subtle, racial and otherwise, (as the Preamble put it) "out of the rage of love for the unimplemented principles" of our country.

These young people have been taught to take seriously and literally the words of our nation's founding documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, particularly its Bill of Rights. They now raise disturbing questions and accusations about the practice of these ideals.

The Conference has been accused of looking primarily at the dark side of our society. Indeed, we might also wish that our young people would take more pride in the progress we have made. In some areas the Conference indicated that we have earned their respect. But this does not discount their concerns, which are not frivolous.

The minority groups at the Conference (and here "minority groups" are defined as any delegates who wished to consider themselves as a minority—blacks, women, Asian-Americans, Appalachian whites, American Indians, the Spanish surnamed, the ethnic whites) —definitely rejected a "melting pot" theory of America. The delegates considered as a *right*, "the right to preserve and cultivate ethnic and cultural heritages."

Therefore, it is not surprising that many of the delegates chose to conduct their work at Estes Park within an array of special interest workshops and caucuses. This was not, in my opinion, a sign of divisiveness, but rather a display of healthy diversity within our society.

Beyond the obvious acts of discrimination, these minority delegates tried to tell us how guilty society is of insensitivities that can cause as much pain as a door slammed in one's face. Often they pointed to the mass media as a prime offender. The following statement by the Appalachian Youth Caucus might well indicate one of the ways we have perfected for hurting each other:

> In September CBS began its new television season with the theme "Let's All Get Together". If you watch television on Tuesday nights, you know that who got together, back-to-back, were the stars of three of America's most popular T.V. programs: "The Beverly Hillbillies", "Green Acres", and "Hee-Haw". Each week millions of Americans gather around their sets to watch this combination, which has to be the most intensive effort ever exerted by a nation to belittle, demean, and otherwise destroy a minority people within its boundaries. Within the three shows on one night, hillbillies are shown being conned into buying the White House, coddling a talking pig, and rising from a corn patch to crack the sickest jokes on T.V.

4. *Libertarianism:* "We interpret liberty," wrote the Advisory Task Force on Values, Ethics and Culture, "as the freedom of all human beings conscientiously to choose their own way of life when their choices do not limit or harm this right of others."

This doctrine, which has been called libertarianism, was at the heart of much of the Youth Conference work.

While few of the delegates went so far as the pure libertarians, who formed their own caucus and questioned "the very process of even one person making decisions that affect another's life", nevertheless there may be some truth to their claim that libertarianism is "the fastest growing youth movement in America".

This doctrine gave rise to some of the more controversial proposals at Estes Park, such as approval of "any sexual behavior when occurring between consenting responsible individuals" and the right of a woman "to determine for herself . . . her own reproductive life".

But it was also a strong influence in youth's acceptance of an all-volunteer (non-compulsory) army, the reason for strongly supporting the right of privacy, and the motivation for the following recommendation of the Legal Rights and Justice Task Force:

> A significant body of our criminal law—local, state, and Federal—concerns itself with criminal activities involving purely voluntary participants. These are widely termed "crimes without victims". Many people, and especially young people, object to laws proscribing such activities on the grounds that individuals should be free to do as they choose so long as they do not infringe on the freedoms of others. . . . We recommend that practices which have not been objectively demonstrated to do serious injury be licensed and controlled as any other business, the controls to give special attention to protecting the customer or participant and to insulating from the activity all those who wish not to be exposed to it. . . . In short, we recommend a "no smoking car" approach to some of these questions, legalizing a practice so as to protect innocent persons from its real or fancied effects.

5. *Humanization:* The youth delegates were especially sensitive to what they viewed as threats "to dehumanize our society". They saw these threats as coming, in part, from "uncontrolled technology". Yet they were not anti-technology *per se.* Rather, they recognized "the contribution that technology has made and the contributions that it can make in the future, if properly used". "Technology itself," wrote the Values, Ethics and Culture Task Force, "has no inherent ethical values." Its importance is in how man uses it and how aware he is of its social implications. "Its ultimate goal," as they defined it, is to give "man increased control over his environment in order to improve the quality of his existence."

As humanization relates to employment and the economy, the delegates called for more "meaningful" work; for "less impersonal" employer-employee relationships; for attempts "to tailor jobs to fit the individual"; for increased understanding of the relationship between one's job assignment and the total organization, for further exploration of worker rotation on assembly lines, a flexible four-day work week, increased sponsorship by management and labor of cultural activities for workers and their families, and greater participation in decision-making.

The delegates, however, recognized that the problem of dehumanization is not exclusively economic. Indeed the problem, which the Economy and Employment Task Force defined as "a basic dissatisfaction with the overall conditions of life . . . increasingly referred to as a concern for the 'quality of life'," stems from the primacy that "materialism" has had in our society. Although I suspect that the "have-not" delegates were more concerned with having an opportunity to share in the wealth of our nation, there was still a general call on the part of all delegates for an increased emphasis on those individual and social concerns not directly within the sphere of economics.

6. *Humanitarianism:* The Conference delegates were perhaps most concerned with human plight. In some respects their recommendations resemble a listing of perceived injustices—from Angola and the Sudan to Pakistan and the District of Columbia.

They strongly endorsed such actions as an end to discrimination against Soviet Jews, greater financial support for Palestinian refugees, approval by the U. S. Senate of the UN Genocide Convention, and condemnation through boycott and economic sanctions of the racist policies of southern Africa.

Where such actions may be contradictory with other stated or implied goals—such as limiting U. S. involvement in the internal affairs of other nation-states—the majority of youth can be expected to opt for the humanitarian consideration.

* * * *

Young people, of course, are not all as altruistic as these themes might make them appear. Like the rest of us, they are and can be inconsistent. Also, like many adults, they can be more supportive of the liberties of those with whom they agree than of those with whom they disagree.

Yet, if I am right about the six recurring themes of the Conference, the following are the sorts of questions that decision-makers should ask themselves if they wish to judge youth's response to a given action:

—Will young people be involved or consulted *before* the action is taken, especially if it is an action that personally affects them?
—Does the action provide for participation by *all* those affected, and if possible, will control be vested on the community level?
—Is the action equitable and non-discriminatory, and, if it involves minority groups, will it preserve and respect their special heritages?
—Will the action correct an injustice?
—Will the action expand the personal freedom of the individual?
—And, will the action improve the "quality of life" and the individual's sense of meaningfulness?

These are hardly unimportant questions.

Post-Conference Response

Speaking at the opening session of the Conference, Elliot Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, pledged on behalf of the President that the Administration would "look carefully at every one of the recommendations" directed to the Federal government. He pledged further that a procedure would be established whereby "we can render to you an accounting not only of what we have done, but what we have not done, and why".

On the Tuesday after the Conference the President and his Cabinet reviewed the Conference and its recommendations. As a result of this Cabinet meeting, the President directed all departmental secretaries and agency heads to appoint liaison officers who would coordinate a government-wide response to the Conference proposals. Subsequently, departmental and agency heads received guidance on the specific format they were to follow in responding to the work of the Conference. The results of this detailed "accounting" will be completed shortly.

But the Federal government is not the only institution to whom these recommendations were addressed. The delegates also spoke to the leaders of the nation's businesses and industries, unions, churches, mass media, foundations, voluntary organizations, state and local governments, judiciary, and educational institutions. For this reason the *Report of the White House Conference on Youth* is being sent to approximately 26,000 institutional leaders throughout the country, identifying recommendations that pertain to them, and requesting that they follow the President's lead in responding to the work of the Conference.

These leaders will find that some of these proposals hit hard at the very foundations of our system, that some may be entirely impractical, that some already are being implemented. But let us not allow this opportunity for self-assessment to pass by default. Our young people are telling us more than ever that our institutions are not responsive enough to necessary change. Through the mechanism of the White House Conference on Youth, they have provided us with an opportunity for self-examination and reappraisal. We should respond to their call.

Stephen Hess

Stephen Hess
National Chairman

Preamble

The Preamble

To the people:

We are in the midst of a political, social and cultural revolution. Uncontrolled technology and the exploitation of people by people threaten to dehumanize our society. We must reaffirm the recognition of life as the supreme value which will not bear manipulation for other ends.

The approach of the two hundredth anniversary of the Revolution which gave birth to the United States of America leads us to reexamine the foundations of this country. We find that the high ideals upon which this country was ostensibly founded have never been a reality for all peoples from the beginning to the present day. The Constitution itself was both racist and sexist in its conception. The greatest blemish on the history of the United States of America is slavery and its evil legacy. The annihilation of Indians, genocide, exploitation of labor, and militaristic expansion have been among the important short-comings which have undermined the ideals to which the people of this country have aspired.

It is time now finally to affirm and implement the rights articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Each individual must be given the full rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the Bill of Rights must be reinterpreted so as to be meaningful to all persons in our society. In addition the following rights are crucial:

The Right to adequate food, clothing, and a decent home.
The Right of the individual to do her/his thing, so long as it does not interfere with the rights of another.
The Right to preserve and cultivate ethnic and cultural heritages.
The Right to do whatever is necessary to preserve these Rights.

Governments and nation-states are created to secure and protect these rights. Through the acquiescence of its citizenery, the government and other power structures of this nation have not fulfilled their responsibilities to the people, seeming instead to be concerned primarily with their self-perpetuation through serving the interests of the powerful at the expense of the people. In so far as any branch, agency, or member of the government or other power structure neglects its responsibility, it forfeits its legitimacy. We proclaim the following grievances:

Denial of equal opportunity has led to privation in the midst of plenty.
Repression has denied the free exercise of political rights in a "free society".
The system of justice lacks legitimacy for vast segments of the people, particularly minority groups and the poor.
Free cultural expression is discouraged in a supposedly pluralistic society.
Appeals to chauvinism, nationalism and militarism smother the individual's right to conscientious free choice of action and belief.
A war which is abhorrent to the majority of Americans and which inflicts inestimable anguish on a foreign people continues.
The government and the people have allowed economic and political power to be concentrated in institutions which are not responsive or answerable to the people, resulting in the waste and destruction of human and natural resources, and the failure to meet the people's needs.

The fear of youth identifying with adults and vice-versa, the fear of people identifying with themselves, the fear of people identifying with their race, the fear of people identifying with a country—all create a climate of fear which permeates this nation.

Internal divisiveness has contributed to a loss of national purpose.

The recommendations which follow we submit to the people as a realistic, positive, fundamental, minimal program for the redress of such grievances and the recognition of these Rights.

We are aware that "commissions," "conferences" and "reports" have often been used as a mechanism to divert the attention and energy of the people, in the guise of furthering "communication." This Conference shall not be so used.

Youth has been seeking reform of political and social institutions. Evidently these institutions are threatened by the basic insecurity inherent in change. The result has been repression which has transformed our struggle for reform into a struggle for survival.

We must recognize that change is not restricted to the realm of history, but is an ongoing process, the central dynamic of life.

We recognize further that while youth is often most receptive to change, they are not alone in desiring it. We affirm our kinship with persons of good will of all generations. This affirmation stems from our appreciation of the indivisible nature of liberty.

We are aware of our responsibility to fight for the rights of all people. We recognize that we in the United States of America have strayed from the fundamental tenet of this nation, that the government is responsible to the people, in whom power resides, and that the people are therefore fully responsible for the policies and actions pursued in their name.

We, as have so many before us, dedicate ourselves to struggle and sacrifice for the realization of the ideals embodied in the program we have set forth.

Out of the rage of love for the unimplemented principles we here assert, we challenge the government and power structures to respond swiftly, actively, and constructively to our proposals. We are motivated not by hatred, but by disappointment over, and love for, the unfulfilled potential of this Nation.

Draft, National Service and Alternatives

All recommendations were voted upon by the Task Force members present in general session after open debate on each item. Drafts of many of the recommendations were initiated in workshops.

Draft and the All-Volunteer Force

1.1 The Task Force on the Draft, National Service, and Alternatives endorses an end to the draft and the establishment of an all-volunteer Armed Force. In arriving at our conclusions, we examined in detail the need for an adequate national defense, the inequities of conscription, and the feasibility and social desirability of an all-volunteer force and recommended policies needed to improve the Armed Services to achieve such a force. The Advisory Task Force report, prepared by eight youth and four adult members, analyzed these issues and served as the basis for our deliberations. In the course of our discussions at Estes Park, we have accepted most of these recommendations, revised others and introduced some additional proposals. In this report, we present the recommendations of the full task force.

The draft has alienated many youth against their country, and many others against their peers who were able to avoid service; it has caused many young Americans to adopt life styles different from those which they would otherwise have chosen; and it has had untold effects on the many who have unwillingly served two years in the military. This is not to suggest that there are not many who truly volunteer or willingly serve when called, nor that many draftees do not benefit from their military service. However, the human cost that the draft has levied can never be measured. The irony of the draft is that such forced servitude, such compulsion, is unnecessary.

For these reasons, the full task force unanimously supports our first and most important recommendation:

All-Volunteer Force

1.1a *We endorse the concept of an all-volunteer Armed Force.* Some have expressed fears that an all-volunteer force would be socially undesirable, an army of the poor and the black, a professional army of mercenaries, a threat to domestic and international stability. Behind these questions of potential dangers, is the tacit assumption that an all-volunteer force would be substantially different from a mixed force of draftees and volunteers both in its composition and in the way that it would be used. The Task Force found no evidence to support these alleged dangers and rejects them; we found instead that the socially desirable aspects of the all-volunteer force far outweigh the alleged dangers.

All of us believe that the draft must be ended. But when? Some members of our Task Force felt that in order to best insure the national security, the draft must be extended during a transition period. Such a transition period would allow sufficient time to implement the manpower policies needed to attract enough true volunteers to maintain necessary force levels. Without such an extension, manpower deficits might arise that would result in a re-introduction of the draft. The Department of Defense has, indeed, recommended a two-year extension and within this period they are confident that they can achieve the goal of an all-volunteer force.

The Advisory Task Force report argued for a one-year extension of the draft to put the necessary pressure on Congress, the Department of Defense, and the public to expedite the policies needed to end the draft. The one-year extension would further serve to demonstrate the nation's sincerity in its effort to end the draft at the earliest possible date with no threat to our defense capability since Congress would still retain the authority to extend the law if such action became necessary.

Other Task Force members argued that the draft is a form of involuntary servitude, and that such an abrogation of fundamental liberties can be justified only in time of grave national emergency. No such emergency now exists. Young people alone are directly affected by the draft, and if we do not speak out for our rights and liberties now, no one else will. We, therefore, favor an immediate repeal of the draft.

The issue was hotly debated. *The Task Force voted on the question of whether the draft authority should be allowed to expire or be extended. By a narrow margin of 45 to 43, we endorsed the following recommendation:*

Repeal of the Draft Authority

1.1b *Confident that the national security will not be jeopardized, we recommend that the draft law be allowed to expire on June 30, 1971.*

Although we endorse repeal of the draft, we cannot be sure that Congress will adopt our recommendation. Because the draft has such a profound impact on the lives of young Americans, we feel that it is imperative for us to propose recommendations that would minimize the inequities in who serves when not all serve. In recent years, the Selective Service System has been improved but still discriminates against some racial minorities and favors the more educated who can find loopholes in the law. To achieve greater equity in our present lottery draft, the full Task Force strongly endorsed the following recommendation to improve the operations of the System:

Selective Service Changes

1.1c The existing practices of the Selective Service System must be changed as follows:

(1) We endorse the President's intention to phase out the II-S student deferment, but feel that it is unfair to make it retroactive by taking away any II-S deferments that have been or might be granted before any new draft law becomes effective. We also support the President's effort to phase out the IV-D exemption for divinity students and urge that the IV-B exemption for certain elected officials also be phased out.

(2) In order to achieve equal treatment in the granting of medical deferments, we recommend that physical examinations of black registrants must include a blood test for Sickle-cell anemia, a disease peculiar to blacks, and that the presence of the Sickle-cell anemia trait be accepted as the basis for a IV-F medical exemption. It should be noted that the Sickle-cell disease has already been accepted as the basis for medical exemption.

(3) We recommend that the requirements for membership on local draft boards be modified as follows: First, local board members should live in the area over which they have jurisdiction.

Second, local board membership should reflect the ethnic and economic composition of its constituency. Third, the age requirements for local board membership should be not less than 18 years of age and not more than 55 years of age with terms of service limited to a maximum of five years.

(4) We recommend that the present appeal procedure be altered to give every registrant the right to have witnesses and legal counsel present during personal appearances. Moreover, we urge that every registrant have the right to a Presidential appeal in the event that his appeal is rejected by a state appeals board.

(5) In order to correct the present practice on appeal for re-examination for medical fitness wherein the registrant is re-examined by the same doctors, we recommend that any registrant making such an appeal be allowed to be re-examined at a Veterans Administration hospital or at a different Armed Forces Entrance Examining Station.

All of these changes will require Congressional legislation in any new draft law, and we urge their adoption.

Conscientious Objectors in Alternative Service

1.1d A continuing problem that has plagued the Selective Service System is that of determining who is a conscientious objector. Conscience is by its very nature, private, and no one can see inside the mind and heart of another. In order to mitigate the problems surrounding the granting of C.O. deferments, we recommend that the following provisions be adopted in any new draft law:

We recommend that the Selective Service System adopt the following practices with respect to conscientious objectors:

(1) Recognizing the private nature of conscientious beliefs and the difficulties faced by Selective Service in determining the sincerity of a man claiming to be a conscientious objector, *we recommend that any man claiming to be a conscientious objector be granted such status subject to his willingness to perform, if called, two years of civilian work in the maintenance of the community or national health, safety, or interest.*

(2) We believe that sincere selective objection as such be recognized along with objection to war in any form. We urge that local draft boards be informed immediately that the Supreme Court has recognized one form of selective objection, namely that young men who object now, but who do not know what they would do in a future hypothetical circumstance, can still qualify for C.O. status.

(3) We strongly urge that opportunities for civilian alternative service should be expanded to better utilize the skills of C.O.'s. In addition, a C.O. should be allowed to perform his service in his own community instead of the present system requiring him to find work outside of his community. Further, we reject the punitive provision in the present House draft legislation (HR 6531) wherein a C.O. who fails to perform satisfactorily in his alternative job is inducted into the Armed Services.

Amnesty for Draft Violators

1.1e One of the more emotional issues facing our Task Force was, "What should we do about those Americans who have knowingly violated the draft law, or who are now in exile to avoid conscription?" Some believe that those who knowingly violated the draft law, thereby transferring the burden of service to others, deserve to be punished. Because of their strong beliefs that the draft is immoral, others favored the following recommendation that was adopted by a vote of 51 to 35:

As an act of compassion, we call upon the President, when the draft ends, to exercise his power to grant amnesty to all draft violators and exiles.

Minimal Standby Draft Authority

1.1f An important concern expressed by many in our Task Force was that when the draft authority is terminated, what machinery should be retained to provide for a flexible response to any contingency requiring force levels that cannot be met by the all-volunteer active and reserve forces? Some argued that no machinery should be kept because it would still entail compulsion and would make it easier to return to conscription. By a close vote of 46 to 42, the Task Force endorsed the following recommendation:

We recommend that when the draft is ended, a standby registration authority should be established that (a) entails no physical examinations or classification of registrants; (b) requires only a simplified form calling for a minimum of personal information; and (c) can be accomplished at a post office or other local agency. Under this standby registration, the power to induct registrants can only be reinstituted by a joint resolution of Congress upon the recommendation of the President. We further recommend that this standby registration authority be instituted for a period of four years with a Congressional review to come at the end of the third year.

Activation of Reserve Forces

1.1g In his memorandum of August 21, 1970, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced a new Department of Defense policy that the Reserves and Guards will provide the trained manpower in the event of any future emergency requiring the augmentation and expansion of the active duty forces. We concur with this policy, but in order to assure compliance, we support the following amendment:

When the draft is ended, Congress enact legislation to insure that no person be drafted until all Reserve and National Guard forces have first been activated.

Draft reforms and the establishment of standby draft registration are important parts of a well-designed plan in the transition to an all-volunteer force. The movement towards an all-volunteer force has progressed rapidly in the last two years. Many provisions in the recent House draft legislation (HR 6531) go a long way toward this goal. We would like to see these provisions included in the final military service law, and we therefore support the following recommendation:

Increase Military Pay

1.1h Whereas President Nixon has played an important leadership role in promoting the concept of an all-volunteer armed force; and Whereas the President appointed a distinguished commission of prominent Americans who recommended that the draft could be ended by improving the conditions of military life; and Whereas military pay is currently so low as to force thousands of servicemen to depend on food stamps and public welfare for survival; and Whereas the House of Representatives has overwhelmingly passed legislation which substantially implements the pay proposals of the Gates Commission; and Whereas the President has asked this Conference to report to him on the draft and the volunteer force; RESOLVED: We, the Task Force on the Draft, National Service and Alternatives, of the White House Conference on Youth, urge the President to support openly the pay provisions of the House Bill (HR 6531) which is consistent with our recommendations.

Implementation of an All-Volunteer Force

1.1i Although many men are drafted, a majority of our men in uniform are volunteers who freely chose to enter and remain in the Armed Services in preference to alternative civilian jobs. Our studies have shown that the numbers of these volunteers are diminished by extremely low rates of military pay (especially for the first-term enlisted man), poor housing, and often irrelevant work. If we are to end the draft and establish a viable all-volunteer force fully capable of providing for the nation's defense, we must make some major policy changes. Towards this end, our Task Force endorsed by a unanimous vote that the provisions of the following recommendation be adopted:

To implement the concept of an all-volunteer force, we recommend that certain steps be taken:

(1) Military pay levels. Funds should be appropriated to raise the military pay of first-term enlisted men and officers to levels that are competitive with civilian wages. The regular pay of a recruit (including the value of room and board) should be raised to at least $444 a month.

(2) Military pay structure. The structure of military pay should be revised to establish pay differentials for first-term enlisted men who bring civilian skills to the military service, who volunteer for occupational specialties suffering manpower shortages, or who commit themselves to longer terms of service. Moreover, once an individual qualifies for a specialty pay because he has a particular skill, he will continue to receive that pay as long as he possesses the qualifications and remains in the skill.

(3) Recruiting. The recruiting organization should be modernized; authorized recruiter strengths should be expanded to produce the required number of volunteers; recruiters should be provided with petty cash funds and made eligible for higher rates of proficiency pay; and recruitment and advertising budgets should be increased. We further urge that precautions must be taken to insure that the Armed Forces adhere to strict standards of truth in advertising and recruiting, and that Armed Forces advertising budget should never assume such proportions that the Defense Department could significantly influence the media in their news reporting or programming. Finally, we strongly recommend that military recruiting operations be regularly monitored in order to prohibit the use of unfair or unethical practices to enlist the uninformed, the disadvantaged, or those who are coerced to accept military service in lieu of prosecution.

(4) Officer acquisition. ROTC scholarships should be increased to an annual rate equal to 10 percent of the authorized non-medical officer strength with increases beginning September 1, 1971. We further urge that in the awarding of these scholarships, particular emphasis be placed on providing opportunities for officer training to members of ethnic minorities that are now under-represented in our active and reserve forces. The stipends paid to ROTC students should be increased to $100 per month.

(5) Medical manpower. The comprehensive medical scholarship program recommended by the Administration should be adopted. Under this program, the Department of Defense would award 2,000 medical scholarships with annual stipends of about $10,000 for an obligation of one year of military service for each year of scholarship support. We also endorse the Gates Commission recommendations that (a) salaries of military physicians should be raised to a level comparable with those of non-military physicians in group practice, and (b) that the military should study the possibility of negotiating contracts with groups of non-military physicians to care for military patients. Adoptions of these provisions would operate to reduce the need for the doctor draft.

(6) *We urge that Reserve and National Guard units should make every attempt to reflect the racial and ethnic composition of the communities from which they are drawn.* These steps would reduce the likelihood of a situation where an all-white Guard unit is called in to quell a civil disturbance in a predominantly black community.

(7) Reserve and Guard Forces. Additional funds should be appropriated to procure modern weapons and equipment for the Reserve and Guard forces.

(8) Reserve Training. Summer training exercises of reserve units should be conducted jointly with units of the active duty forces stationed at overseas bases. The adoption of these recommendations would eliminate the financial penalties that now discourage many individuals who might otherwise have considered a military service career, thereby expanding the flow of qualified volunteers for our Armed Forces.

Improving the Quality of Military Life

1.1j The draft has encouraged the wasteful use of our nation's scarce manpower resources and discouraged the development of personnel practices that would make service life more attractive. Assistant Secretary of Defense Roger T. Kelley summarized the problem when he stated:

> The ability to reach into the draft well and pick out whatever numbers you need can cover a lot of sins, of under-utilization of manpower, of misuse of manpower, of poor management.

We applaud the efforts that the Department of Defense has made in the past two years to eliminate irrelevant make-work assignments, to provide better housing and to treat their men and women with respect. These steps that improve the image of our Armed Services and that raise the morale of our uniformed personnel are, in our opinion, essential for a truly viable all-volunteer force. We accordingly urge that the following recommendations be adopted:

To effect a viable all-volunteer force, we recommend that at least the following steps be taken to improve the quality of military life:

(1) The military social environment. We propose that a broad review be undertaken of the military rank and class structure, in particular, the enlisted-officer relationship; military regulations, especially the Uniform Code of Military Justice; traditional customs and courtesies; and all of those factors that contribute to the military social environment, bearing in mind the dignity and the need for respect of *each individual* in the Armed Forces. Those elements of military life which do not contribute to the overall

success of the mission of the Armed Forces should be eliminated or changed as appropriate.

(2) Civil Rights. We recommend that a civil rights provision should be included in the Uniform Code of Military Justice to insure that anyone who believes that he has been discriminated against for reasons of race, color, or creed, would have a normal channel for appeal.

(3) Equal Opportunities. Comprehensive manpower development and training programs should be enlarged and maintained to assist members of disadvantaged groups to obtain, within the Armed Forces, the skills and knowledge required to compete effectively for those assignments and opportunities for which their interests and aptitudes could reasonably be expected to qualify them. Among the objectives of this resolution is to minimize the likelihood of the burden of combat duty falling disproportionately on members of disadvantaged groups.

(4) Women in the Service. Ceilings set on representation of women in the services, now Congressionally imposed, should be lifted, and all phases of military life should be equally accessible to members of both sexes.

All-Volunteer Force: Summing Up

We believe that our plan for an all-volunteer force offers a program that we regard as the only equitable solution to the problems of the draft. It specifies a target date, June 30, 1971, for ending the draft and identifies those policies that must be adopted to attract men to our Armed Forces on a truly voluntary basis. Moreover, it contains safeguards, in the form of the standby draft registration authority and a truly Ready Reserve, to insure that our national security will be protected in the event of any contingency.

Over twelve million young Americans have just received the franchise to vote and to actively participate in the legislative process of our Government. In his address before the University of Nebraska student body, President Nixon stated, "You have now the opportunity and the obligation to mold the world you live in. You cannot escape this obligation."

The draft has been in existence for all of our lives, and it is an institution that vitally affects us. The Task Force on the Draft, National Service and Alternatives believes that it is in the national interest to end the draft, and to move to an all-voluneer Armed Force.

National Service and Service-Learning Program

1.2 *America's youth wish to serve their society. Every poll testifies to their desire. But our Task Force opposes a compulsory program of national service and opposes as well the creation of a large centrally-directed Federal program of voluntary national service.* Instead, we recommend that under the auspices of the Action Corps support be provided for volunteer service projects which are locally conceived and directed, projects which take their direction from people who serve in them, and from the people in the communities who are served. We particularly recommend programs of service-learning which are designed not only to meet pressing local needs but which also promote the educational growth of those who serve.

We oppose a compulsory program for the reasons cited by the Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest:

> Whether in the form of pilot projects or a full-scale program, national service should be voluntary, and not as some have proposed before this Commission and elsewhere, compulsory. In addition to its enormous cost, a compulsory national service program would be an unwarranted infringement on individual freedom of choice. Nor should national service be considered as a method for reforming or replacing the draft. Proposals to make civilian service available as an alternative to the draft fail to resolve compelling problems of equity that plague any attempt to compare civilian programs with military service.

Further, it would be hard to find proper work for unwilling civilian conscripts. And the devices whereby the affluent and well-advised now find ways to escape the draft would be used as well to avoid compulsory civilian service. *Service, then, should be voluntary. It must stand on its own merits, attracting volunteers who seek the satisfactions of doing a needed job, of learning in the process and, hopefully, of helping accelerate some needed social changes.*

Service-learning is a relatively new idea. It links school and community. It is like the work-study or cooperative education programs in which students work part-time, or leave school for periods of work, then return for more study. But the number of part-time paid jobs is limited, whereas there are almost unlimited service jobs, as tutors, aides in health centers, mental institutions, day care centers, drug abuse and environmental programs, as parole officer assistants and as interns in government agencies. But whether the program is paid work-study or unpaid service-learning, the objectives and the processes are much the same. Work or service is considered as much a part of education as studies in school or college. Academic credit is given for what a person learns. Students, teachers, and job supervisors agree on what is to be learned by the work or service and by what criteria success will be measured. For example, work in drug programs may include precise learning objectives in chemistry, sociology or the law.

Projects like these are well under-way in Urban Corps and College Volunteer programs. But, if they are to be expanded to other areas, money is needed for program development and for the training of project supervisors, who themselves may be volunteers who serve at subsistence pay for a year or two. Once under way, most of the costs of these programs can be borne by local schools and colleges, for service-learning would be a regular part of education which is designed to give meaning to formal studies, education which exposes the volunteer to future career opportunities, and education which breaks down the separation of school from community. The uses of society are learned by serving it. Academic credit at all times, from elementary school through college, is awarded in recognition of learning which takes place during service and in preparation for it.

Federal support can help launch these programs. But they can then be carried on by local schools and communities. The Task Force on Draft, National Service and Alternatives therefore believes strongly that national service should be voluntary and supports the following recommendations:

Compulsory National Service Rejected

1.2a *We reject compulsory national service. We also reject those national service proposals which would utilize service as an alternative to the draft.*

We believe that all young people who want to serve their fellow men have an opportunity to do so. We believe that programs of service have much to offer both to those who are served and to those who serve. Accordingly, we recommend the following:

Action Corps Endorsed

1.2b This Task Force endorses the creation of Action Corps to bring together volunteer service agencies (Peace Corps, VISTA, Teacher Corps, and other volunteer offices) to (a) expand opportunities available for full-time service, and (b) to serve as an agency designed to further utilize part-time, non-paid volunteers.

Service-Learning

1.2c We further endorse an expansion of service-learning and work study opportunities in high schools and colleges. Specifically, we call for programs of part-time or temporary service which have precise learning objectives and for which appropriate academic credit can be given.

Community Involvement Desirable

1.2d After considerable debate about the need for an additional administrative body, and by a narrow margin, the Task Force adopts the following resolution:

We believe that service activities should be directed and financed at the local level to the extent permitted by available resources, and should include projects organized and directed by young people. Service activities should be underwritten by a public foundation at the national level. This public foundation should be able to receive public and private funds and be governed by a board of directors with a majority of private citizens, including representatives from those who serve and from local communities, and be ultimately responsible to Congress.

Volunteer Program on Pilot Basis

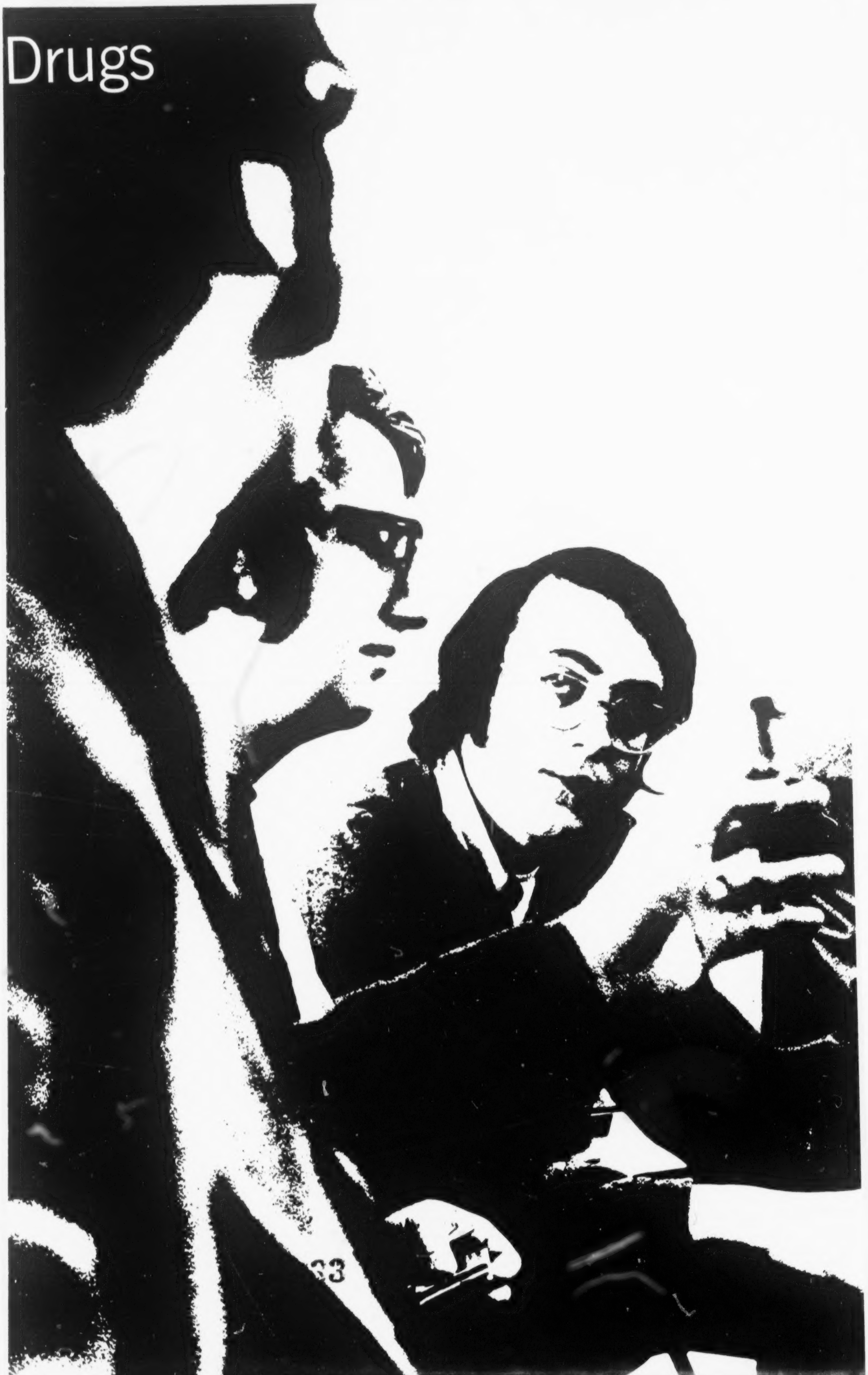
1.2e In order to provide support for the initial start up of local projects of service-learning and in order to assess the effectiveness of service-learning as a means of education which might in time offer opportunities for service to almost half of all Americans from the elementary years through and beyond college age, we support the following:

That the President call for appropriations under existing Action Corps legislation sufficient to provide training for approximately 195,000 part-time volunteers and 5,000 full-time supervisors in order to test, over a two-year period, the feasibility of greater Federal assistance to locally designed and administered programs of work-study and service-learning. There should be several projects during this period with sufficient concentration of volunteers to test the ability of the projects to provide solutions to local problems such as delinquency, health services training and delivery, early childhood education, or comparable needs. Further, we recommend that the Director of the Action Corps undertake a program of research and evaluation to begin at the start of the above mentioned two-year trial program on June 30, 1971, and submit his recommendations regarding the feasibility of expanded Federal support for work-study and service-learning programs by June 30, 1973.

We are concerned that programs supported by the Action Corps be responsive to local needs and desires and we therefore advocate that the people who participate in projects and representatives from local communities served by Action Corps, share in establishing the policies and procedures of the Action Corps and in developing, administering and evaluating local projects.

And we advocate that service-learning projects, including those for which Federal support is already available, such as the College Work Study and the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, should serve the needs of local communities, particularly those in low-income areas.

Drugs



Recommendations were drafted by Task Force workshops and discussed at a Task Force plenary session where recommendations were voted. The minority caucus report and recommendations were submitted separately.

Preamble

The White House Conference Drugs Task Force must address itself to the causes of drug abuse as well as the solutions.

We acknowledge that drug abuse is largely a symptom of the individual's inability to cope with his immediate personal environment. However, it must be understood that deep societal ills increase the individual's sense of personal alienation. Specifically, our society has permitted the perpetuation of the Indochina War, of institutional and personal racism, of the pollution of our environment, and of the urban crisis.

The American people as a whole must deal immediately with these problems. The President of the United States has the special burden of providing moral and political leadership to our people. To date, this administration, as previous administrations, has failed to meet this burden of leadership. We call on the President to respond immediately to our urgent concerns.

Foremost, we call upon the President to end the war in Indochina NOW, and to apply our natural and human resources to our domestic needs.

Should the administration respond to these issues, more young people of America will become motivated and contributing members of society. Conversely, if the administration does not respond to these issues, we risk having ever larger numbers of young people dropping out of a society which has great need of their contribution.

If the administration is sincere in its concern with drug abuse, it must deal aggressively with the root causes as well as implement the recommendations contained herein.

Armed Services and The Veterans Administration

2.1 The subcommittee had done considerable research in the latest drug abuse program initiated by the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Armed Services. Attached as enclosure No. 1 is the complete report of a task group appointed by the Department of Defense to drug abuse. * This report was approved by the Secretary of Defense and has been implemented by the Secretary in DOD Directive 1300.11, 23 October 1970.

Revise DOD Drug Abuse Policy

2.1a The Task Force workshop recommends *immediate* implementation of the Mack Task Group Report of July 24, 1970, for revision to DOD drug abuse policy. In making this recommendation, we commend the recent attempts by the Armed Services to initiate prevention through education, non-punitive treatment via medical intervention (particularly the amnesty program) and responsible aftercare through the VA for those discharged under honorable conditions.

* Space limitations preclude inclusion although we recommend it to the reader.

Evaluation of Marijuana

2.1b Without impairing military efficiency, the Armed Forces should pioneer in the evaluation of marijuana—under modern and enlightened controls—in such a way as to recognize its relation to the real world of many young adults. In making this recommendation, the Task Force workshop recognizes the unique situation of military service which makes such a program particularly applicable.

Establish Hot-Lines

2.1c Recognizing the success of informal "hot-line" arrangements geared to the special problems of certain communities, the Task Force workshop recommends the military should establish 24-hour "hot lines" and crisis intervention centers staffed by trained peers, outside the normal channels of military justice and medicine, with strict guarantees of anonymity. These facilities would be able to handle the stresses and strains normal to all young people plus the special frictions indigenous to military environment.

Drug Abuse Education and Counseling

2.1d We recommend creation of an organized system of drug abuse education utilizing formal and informal techniques and incorporating the most recent materials. This program should be disseminated uniformly throughout the armed services. We recommend expansion throughout the Department of Defense of informal and confidential mental health care clinics for therapeutic counseling to military personnel and their dependents available on both a non-referral and referral basis.

Drug Record *Information*

2.1e Information concerning drug related research and the use of drugs for other than conventional medically accepted reasons in the armed services should be made available to the general public within the boundaries of national security.

Drug Education and Counseling Program

2.2 It is impossible for drug education to be completely effective without radical alteration of attitudes, values, outlooks, and existing social institutions that perpetuate racism, economic exploitation, and other social injustices. Much of existing drug education is inadequate and counterproductive because it tends to alienate the young and cause reactive alarm in adults; moreover, it disregards the fact that drug abuse is as much an adult problem as a youth problem.

Drug education should not be confined to a specific curriculum within a school setting but approached on an individual, school and community-wide basis. It is imperative that drug education also take a positive approach by encouraging alternatives to drug abuse such as growth of self-respect, constructive social action, realization of personal goals, etc.

Participation Is Important

2.2a It is important to involve persons in drug education who, because of their own drug experience, are particularly credible and can relate to drug users. All potential contributors to drug education should be required to have appropriate and relevant training and experience. It is essential that youth be involved in the evaluation of existing drug education programs and in the development of new ones. Those involved in drug education on a long-term basis should be required to be trained in human growth and self-awareness techniques to increase their understanding of and sensitivity to group and individual differences.

Confidential Couseling Must Be Protected

2.2b All persons involved in the drug counseling relationship should be apprised of their obligation to keep completely confidential any information which they gain in the course of this relationship.

State legislators should extend to the persons being counseled the privilege to prevent the counselor and others, if group counseling is involved, from testifying as to statements made by such person during counseling in any judicial, administrative, or legislative proceedings.

All materials provided in drug education must be honest and present the reasons people use drugs as well as the consequences of abuse.

Unresolved issue: Role of racism in preventing drug education with minority groups.

Community Organizations and Unconventional Programs

2.3 The "drug problem" is in actuality a "people problem" and symptomatic of the pathology of our society and drug oriented culture. Treatment modalities should exist within this orientation. Every effort should be made to research the causes of drug abuse and alternatives should be sought to meet human needs instead of focusing on drugs alone.

Funds for Drug Treatment

2.3a We recommend that additional grant funds should be made available for drug treatment programs. Furthermore, the Federal government should seek ways to distribute information in regard to funding, especially to possible peer-to-peer participant groups and ethnic groups and should assist these groups with applications in developing programs with expertise when asked and funding with a minimum of bureaucratic interference.

Methadone and Other Programs Needed

2.3b *While we grant that methadone maintenance is the lesser evil in comparison to heroin addiction and that methadone maintenance programs are heavily funded and popular as a panacea, most methadone programs focus on the drug and not the person. We recommend that funds should be set aside for other modalities so that the addict has available many different types of programs to him. We respect the arguments against methadone maintenance from the Chicano and Black groups.*

Allow Minors to Seek Help on Their Own

2.3c We recommend that the consent laws be amended to include minors of 12 years of age and over, either living at home or away, allowing them to seek help on their own and to sign for consent and thus be assured of confidentiality.

Community Education and Action Programs

2.3d Most of the effective treatment and prevention programs for drug abuse are innovative and experimental programs operated and controlled by those with personal drug experience. These programs are often not understood or accepted by the larger society. The larger society should be aided in understanding the methods, philosophy, and goals of these programs in order to enhance community acceptance and financial support. Efforts to foster community understanding can be accomplished through public forums such as the Council for Responsive Action and Awareness Councils.

We recommend that local communities be encouraged to form broadly representative organizations whose purpose is to assess the community needs regarding drug abuse problems. These local organizations should solicit funds from Federal, state and private sources in order to implement a variety of prevention and treatment programs appropriate to the particular needs of the drug abuser and his community. Innovative, imaginative multi-modality concepts are encouraged for the treatment of all abusers—non-narcotic as well as narcotic. Recognizing that different modalities are likely to be effective for different individuals, independent evaluative procedures should be designed and implemented to learn which modalities are effective for different types of individuals. Autonomous local community programs should have preference over centralized Federal programs.

Drug Production and Advertising

2.4 Society's definition of "coping" has been undergoing a change. As Margaret Mead has phrased it:

> Americans believe that it is better to alter the environment to take advantage of every possible external aid to the good life; that unnecessary and avoidable pain should be prevented, and that any continued attempt to cope—by altering or exercising one's character with things that could be fixed instead—is at best unenterprising rather than virtuous. Our definition of coping is altering the environment, or our social situation, using something external to the self, a new technique, money, medicine, budgetary arrangements, to attain a better, more human way of living.

A person's attitude toward taking drugs, then, reflects that individual's feelings about how to handle the problems of living. These feelings have been shaped by virtually all factors in his environment since his mother first answered his hunger wails from the crib.

The purpose of the subcommittee of the Task Force on Drugs was to examine what effect one of those environmental factors may have had in shaping the individual's attitude toward problem solving; i.e., the production and advertisement of legal medicines.

The producers and distributors of all drug products, including alcohol and tobacco bear a strong responsibility to society. They must realize that the principle of "buyer beware" cannot apply to their products and should accept voluntarily a strict principle of truth in advertising. Consumers also have a responsibility to determine their wise use of such products by re-evaluating the necessity and extent of such usage.

Because we are concerned that much of contemporary drug use may be attributable to the growth of the production and advertising of drug products, we make the following recommendations.

Enforce Existing Laws

2.4a *We recommend that existing regulations governing the manufacture, distribution, foreign and domestic sales and advertising of all drug products, including tobacco and alcoholic beverages, be rigidly enforced.* If this requires additional budgetary appropriations for the regulatory agencies, these funds should be allocated. Further, such agencies should have the power to impose stiff penalties for regulatory infractions.

Eliminate Implications of Current Advertising

2.4b We recommend that both advertisers and regulatory agencies review existing or proposed advertisements of all drug products, including tobacco and alcoholic beverages, and eliminate implications that normal problems of human behavior can be solved by the use of drugs.

Increase Power of FTC Over Advertising

2.4c In order to enforce these policies, the Federal Trade Commission should be given by legislation the ability to impose within three months stiff penalties for advertisements which are explicitly or implicitly untruthful. If the FTC should fail to act, individuals should be granted the right to seek court injunctions against the further use of such advertisements.

Ban Drug Advertising

2.4d We recommend that all drug product advertising be banned from all media, with the exception of professional journals.

Drugs and Law; No Criminal Sanctions for Personal Use

2.5 *We recommend that persons who possess drugs for their personal use no longer be subject to the criminal law.* We make this recommendation because, regardless of the presence or absence of deterrent effect or possible efficacy of punitive sanction meted out by the criminal process, the use of the criminal law in the area of possession for personal use has proved too costly to the individual who is criminalized, degraded and outlawed by the process, too costly because of its impact on one's career and later life in general; too costly to our law enforcement system which exhausts so much effort at the bottom of the sale-use pyramid and too costly to our courts which are staggering under the load of drug related cases.

Expunge Records and Release All Incarcerated Possessors

2.5a We recommend that persons who have been convicted prior to recommendation No. 1 being implemented have the criminal record of their conviction expunged and that it be for all intents and purposes as if they had not been convicted of a crime and that any person who is incarcerated for the crime of possession be immediately released and his criminal record for that offense be similarly expunged.

Seller-User Distinction

2.5b We recommend that illegal sale and manufacture for sale of drugs continue to be dealt with by the criminal process, with the full range of criminal sanctions continuing to be available. If a defendant is able to prove that (a) he is a drug dependent or drug addicted person and (b) he has not realized a significant economic gain from the transfer of the substance, and (c) that the transfer involved a small amount of the drug, we recommend that such person be looked upon by the law as a possessor and that he not be convicted as a drug seller. If a person is illegally in possession of large amounts of drugs, we recommend that he be presumed to be in possession with intent to sell and thus be subject to criminal sanction.

Treatment in Lieu of Penalties

2.5c *We recommend that if a drug dependent or drug addicted person is arrested for and convicted of a criminal offense, drug related or non-drug related, following evaluation and confirmation of such dependency or addiction by persons who have relevant training, experience, and expertise, he be treated in a facility or program which can reasonably be expected to alleviate such dependency or addiction, and that such treatment be in lieu of imprisonment or other criminal sanctions.* If such person is treated in an in-patient facility, he cannot be so held any longer than he could have been sentenced for the crime with which he was charged.

Commitment to In-patient Facilities

2.5d We recommend that involuntary civil commitment of drug addicted or drug dependent persons to an in-patient facility be utilized only in situations where the person to be committed is in imminent danger of seriously harming himself or other persons and that such commitment remain in effect only so long as such danger exists, and that easily invoked legal processes and assistance be regularly available to such committed person. We further recommend that insofar as possible out-patient facilities be utilized in order to keep as many persons as possible functioning in the community and to avoid the deprivation of the fundamental right of liberty.

Expand Modes of Treatment

2.5e We recommend that Federal, state, and local government fund and otherwise encourage the development throughout the nation of the full range of treatment modalities and facilities in order that meaningful alternatives to the criminal law can become more widely available.

Crack-down on Organized Crime

2.5f *We recommend that vigorous steps be undertaken immediately to eliminate syndicate and other large-scale importing and distribution operations,* that Federal strike forces be continued against such operations, and that all law enforcement officials concentrate their attention on such operations. We further recommend that a Federal study be immediately undertaken to ascertain if the present failure to halt or even seriously diminish such operations is due to a manpower shortage, corruption, lack of legal tools, or a combination of these and other causes, and that steps be taken to deal with these causes as aggressively and as soon as possible.

A National Council for Responsive Action

2.6 The Drugs Task Force hereby recommends to the White House Conference on Youth that a National Council for Responsive Action be established to cut across all divergent lines and act jointly on a local and national level to effectuate and continue programs responsible to community needs and deal specifically with all underlying social problems.

The national directions are as follows: (a) The Council must create a social responsibility by providing a challenge for its members as well as those these members represent. These members will be independent thinkers from all divergent groups who will put a stop to patchwork programs and concentrate on community needs; (b) a constant communication program must be maintained on all community levels. This program must be in operation even before selection of the council members so *all* citizens have an equal opportunity to participate; (c) councils will be required to demonstrate their effectiveness in their communities through measurement by an objective group after a said time—perhaps by National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) review.

The National Council will serve not only as an information exchange but a lever for action. This group will seek solutions for the problems of the local councils—not act as an overseeing body.

Local councils will have a responsibility to follow up on their individual programs. The councils will be set up in Congressional Districts with as many as 500 members in each council. The members will be volunteers and structure themselves for operation. One (or more) members will represent each district on the National Council. Anyone 14 years or older may volunteer. The council will decide to compensate those unable to attend without such compensation to allow for more diverse membership.

A national level committee is being established to organize the National Council for Responsive Action.

Areas of Need: Increase Research

2.7 We recommend high quality research into the economic determinants of drug abuse, the political structures and techniques which support the sale and distribution of drugs, and the institutional barriers to prevention and treatment. There is a need to research criteria for determining the abilities needed by individuals who will be permitted to work in the areas of drug abuse treatment and drug abuse education.

Role of HEW

2.7a We recommend that the Federal government should act vigorously through HEW to encourage, organize, and supervise the performance of collaboratives, interdisciplinary studies of the effectiveness of alternative forms of chemo-therapeutic and psychotherapeutic intervention in drug abuse.

Pattern of Use

2.7b We recommend that research be undertaken to study contemporary normative patterns of drug use throughout the nation.

National Surveillance of Drug Conditions

2.7c We recommend that research be undertaken to determine the most effective national surveillance system of drug related conditions and the prompt dissemination of this information.

Goal of Research

2.7d We recommend that research be undertaken to determine effective therapeutic goals which meet the criteria of (a) meaningfulness to the individual, (b) achievability by the individual, (c) acceptability to the individual, and (d) acceptability to the specific community.

Adequacy of Funds

2.7e We recommend that every federally funded intervention program have adequate budgetary means to have on-going evaluation of program efficacy.

Marijuana; Legalizing Use

2.8 *We strongly recommend that government at appropriate levels control and license the sale, distribution, importation, retailing, advertising, purity, potency, age of user and the tax revenues of marijuana with a view to permitting its general use under reasonable standards.* The Drugs Task Force has concluded that the social costs of the present legal framework for dealing with marijuana grossly exceed any damage or danger resulting from its use.

In reaching this conclusion, we considered: (a) statistics indicating that the "drug problem" is, in terms of numbers of citizens involved, largely a marijuana problem. If we can resolve this portion of the "problem," we can prioritize our national efforts, redirecting limited resources to the more dangerous problems of other drugs; (b) widespread use has created serious disrespect for law and done much to undermine credibility of government and other social institutions; (c) a comparison of arrests, prosecutions, and convictions with responsible estimates of use indicates selective law enforcement necessarily based on criteria other than marijuana use. This describes a government of men rather than of laws which is the American goal; (d) we noted Chief Justice Burger's comments about cluttering the courts with so-called private or victimless crimes and the resulting impairment of our system of justice. We also question how far government should go in regulating private practices of citizens; (e) we reviewed the exhaustive report to the Congress (dated January 1971) of the National Institute of Mental Health. We agreed that no substance can ever be totally harmless in all circumstances, individuals, or dosages, and there is a possible risk in its use by children and adolescents; but we concluded that medical hazards to individuals or society under reasonable standards are small enough to be acceptable to prudent citizens. On the other hand, we believe that under the suggested program, affirmative medical values probably will accrue.

Statement of Concern

This statement was presented to the Final Plenary Session of the White House Conference on Youth by the Drugs Task Force.

2.9 In the world in which we live, whenever power, prestige, and money are on the line, inevitably people find themselves in positions which compromise the issues and, indeed, effect even the good intentions of those who wish to deal with the issues to solve the problem.

Unfortunately, these ambitions have served to interfere with the basic tasks and goals of the White House Conference and specifically the Drugs Task Force. From its inception nearly 8 months ago, these drives and ambitions have served to divide and destroy the goals of our workshop. Tragically, the issue of race has been the flame which has been used to satisfy the ambitions of a few.

How much longer must we watch these games go on? We are tired of not being able to be heard. We reject the power plays, the racial innuendos, and the attempts to manipulate. Instead, we wish to go on record that the issues of drug abuse and its effects upon all generations should not be confused nor diluted. No one can argue that the war, racism, and urban blight contribute significantly to our present social situation and to the abuse of drugs. We understand these important factors in drug abuse. *But that is not the issue.* The issue is whether young people and enlightened adults must continue to be had by those whose intentions are for personal gain not to helping others.

The time has come to call on youth and adults to work together without games or hidden agendas, but to seek to solve the problems of all generations on the basis of the issues. We owe ourselves and the young people of America no less!

Minority Caucus of the Drugs Task Force: Preamble

The minority members of the Drugs Task Force after having addressed themselves to the majority membership of the committee on the morning of the first plenary to recommended sessions of unity for the purposes of discussing the major issues relating to the global nature of the drug problem, found the majority membership to be opposed to such a recommendation. We also were aware of the subtle nature of insults, in the form of non-verbal incriminations—hisses, suggestions that the group vacate the Conference, and accusations of power play that emanated from the white majority membership of the task force present at this meeting.

It is an unfortunate consequence of this meeting that we have not all had an opportunity to meet in toto. We believe deprivation is all encompassing, and if we are truly to live in an egalitarian society, it is mandatory that our people share knowledge on common problems. The availability and usage of drugs by our young is a problem common to all of us, and to this end, we the members of the Minority Caucus on the Drugs Task Force share with you this, our point of view.

The Task Force planning group in prototypic of the apparent contempt with which you view the problem of drug abuse in the non-white community.

We regret the situations that precipitated the resignation of the two black youth members of the Drugs Task Force and the alienation and disillusionment of the remaining two members. We therefore dedicate this report to Ruth Pitts and Philip Hodge and the youths not present at the 1971 White House Conference on Youth, Drugs Task Force.

Alternatives to the Criminal Law; *Minority Caucus*

2.10 There are three apparent legal systems in the United States; one for the rich, one for the poor white and one for minorities. Public opinion in this country was not aroused in this decade relative to the "drug problem" until the legal system for the rich was confronted with the drug culture of middle class and rich youth.

In participating in any discussion of or preparing any proposals relative to the drug problem in this country, of primary importance to the legal and criminal ramifications thereof to young Americans, too important to be discarded in the quagmire of prejudices of our legal system is the proposition that our humanity demands that we protect and save our young and, that in so doing, the laws relative to drugs must be uniformly applied to the end of protecting all of our youth and by so doing protecting society.

We, the Minority Caucus of the Drugs Task Force, submit that blacks and other minorities are not impressed by but rather opposed to the hypocrisy of "cleaning up the drug problem in their neighborhoods" by arrests of large numbers of street hustlers and drug users, while ignoring the source of the problem and neglecting vigorous prosecution of the importers and wholesalers of drugs by non-members and non-residents of their community.

Stringent control of drugs should be classified as to types of abuser rather than by the drug.

Laws must distinguish between the Drug Profiteer and the Drug Abuser.

We define the Drug Profiteer as a person or group who deals as an importer or wholesaler of drugs for profit, capitalizing on the minds and bodies of our people, dealing in quantities in excess of amounts suitable to supply twenty-five individuals for a period of one week.

We define the Drug Abuser as any one who overuses drugs that are prescribed or who uses any drug that is not prescribed. This includes the individual at the street level who sells drugs in order to support his own habit and who is known as the "local hustler". There are five types of medico-psychological abusers recognized by our group, distinguishable in the law: (1) the experimenter—arising from peer group pressures, (2) the occasional user—arising from group usage, (3) the dependent—arising from a psychological and physiological need, (4) the addict—one who cannot pull away—arising from fear of psychological and physiological pain, and

(5) the junkie—arising from a life of day to day existence only for drugs

In order to meaningfully control the drug problem, the United States Government and its relevant agencies and legal systems must initially confront the fact of the capitalism of drugs in our society and the hypocrisy of the methodology of control on all levels.

The availability of drugs without public intervention by those who can afford to support their habit with private funds makes the uniform application of the laws meaningless. The scope of the problem as a health hazard and the availability of avenues to frustrate control justifies the establishment of a comprehensive system of drug control. If registration of drug users is deemed necessary, we suggest that it be established in such a way that it cannot be used as an additional punitive measure against minorities. It should ensure the registration of all drug users regardless of race or financial status, and require the strict licensing of the manufacturers and distributors of all drugs. Penalties for the illegal transfer by licensed persons and the improper record keeping and reporting of transfers should be established.

Remove Criminal Sanctions

2.10a We recommend that Drug Abusers be taken out of the criminal system and that civil commitment or "in community" treatment, under process of the court, be substituted according to the classification of the type of abuser in categories of dependent, addict and junkie. "First offender" therapeutic treatment should be given to the experimenter and occasional user.

Civil Law Adjudication for Drug-related Crime

2.10b We recommend that Drug Abusers arrested for drug related crimes be immediately transferred to the civil legal process for adjudication of the drug problem, without resort to the criminal process, until and unless such is recommended by the civil authorities.

"First-Offender Policy" Needed

2.10c *We recommend that Federal, state and local prosecutors establish a "First Offender Policy" for all Drug Abusers classified as experimenters and occasional users, with the view to avoiding a life being ruined by the affliction and stigma of a criminal record.*

Review of Drug Production and Advertising
Minority Caucus

2.11 We strongly criticize the unfair publicity given to minority youth in regard to the drug problem. We feel that advertising, if used in a constructive manner, could serve as a weapon to help alleviate the problem of drug abuse. We are aware that the population of this country is effected in terms of its orientation toward most societal problems by the media of communications. The communications media serves as a Pavlovian conditioning mechanism to shape attitudinal responses.

It would appear that some of the drug commercials have such redeeming artistic values that the educative purpose is obscured. The result may then be paradoxically antipreventive in their consequences upon the mind of the unsophisticated child and/or adult.

We therefore recommend the following:

FCC Controls on Drug Commercials

2.11a The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) take steps to stop production of mood altering drug commercials on radio and television because of the psychological effects on youth. The FCC should suggest to radio and television stations that public service time be focused on drugs and be presented to the public during prime time (6 p.m. to 8 p.m.) so that maximum benefit from these commercials will be derived by those persons most needy of this kind of education. We further suggest that sophisticated materials relating to the drug issue, presenting the full scope of the problems, be made available for all stations, in particular the small ones.

The media should make some effort to focus attention on both the non-user pusher and the supplier of drugs who serve as entrepreneurs.

More emphasis should be put on quality rather than quantity of production of audio-visual materials by the advertising media.

Role of Consumer Affairs Bureau

2.11b We recommend that the Consumer Affairs Bureau take a look at the techniques used in drug advertising, evaluate these techniques, and make recommendations for regulation of the kinds of advertisements that will be allowed on the market.

We understand that a contract for $150,000 has been given to the National Advertising Agency and some of the funds will be subcontracted to Zebra, a black advertising agency in New York City. We recommend that the government insists that responsible persons working in the area of drugs be a part of the advertising staff and that a consultant panel proportionate in numbers to the severity of the problem in the greater community be established. We also recommend these agencies subcontract some of the money to community groups for the development of an effective, relevant, audio-visual campaign against drug use.

The communications media should be made aware and/or be reminded of their responsibility to the public to give accurate, complete accounts of drug related incidents. Reporters and broadcasters should be cognizant of the fact that glorification of the ex-addict could have a reverse effect on youth groups. Therefore, careful consideration should be given to the kinds of success stories written or broadcast.

Drug Education:
Minority Caucus

2.12 Much of the present educational system has failed America's youth. This failure to adequately prepare young people to assume the responsibilities of adulthood, to cope with ever changing internal and external environments, must be assumed to have contributed to the climate that made the drug culture possible and prosperous. The educational establishment must admit that its failure contributed to the drug problem and begin to alter its structure to accommodate programs designed to alleviate and, perhaps, eliminate drugs as a problem.

Drugs, especially marijuana and other mind altering drugs, should be placed in their proper perspective with regards to those substances which have, because they are culturally accepted, received so little recent attention. There is evidence that the drug issue actually may be a displacement of emotions from the more awesome and real problems of the society. Drug education programs must, therefore, also be concerned with and focused upon the real drug inducing issues: white racism, urbanization, and greed.

No Separation of Courses

2.12a The Minority Caucus of the Task Force on Drugs recommends that the following educational programs be implemented at the earliest possible date. If at all feasible, where applicable, drug education should not be separated from other courses, but should be included in curricula of sociology, science, English, etc.

Teacher Training on Drug-Abuse

2.12b All in-service and pre-service teacher training programs should be modified to include comprehensive programs in drug use, the dangers of abuse, and the institutions, both educational and therapeutic, that have been established to counter a drug oriented culture.

Paraprofessional and Parent Involvement

2.12c In those states where drug education is mandatory, training programs for paraprofessionals should be set up. These paraprofessionals, who should consist mainly of parents from the school community, have a real stake in drug education and have displayed the initiative and concern that such programs demand.

Student Oriented and Directed Programs

2.12d Student oriented and directed drug programs, especially for young and adolescent students, should be encouraged. These programs should also be made available to school dropouts and should be carried out in schools, community centers, recreation centers, churches, etc. Self-pride should be the focus of such programs and the development of alternative and personally profitable and satisfying life styles should be their objective.

Cultural Educational Centers

2.12e Supplemental cultural educational centers should be established. These centers, established, organized, regulated, and implemented by the respective ethnic or minority peoples such as Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, and American Indians should be supported by Federal funds. By developing an adequate concept of self and by producing an effective community role, the sense of hopelessness and despair that contributes to drug abuse might be eliminated.

Expert Review of Training Material

2.12f In order to insure that the "horror shows" presently used in drug education programs are eliminated, truly qualified experts in the field of drug education should be authorized to review educational materials, and they should reflect the ethnic or minority character of the community which they serve. Innovative and interesting drug programs should be encouraged. Audio-visual materials of a truly multi-media nature should be developed with specific age groups in view.

National Committee for Drug Education Recommended

2.12g At the national level, a blue ribbon committee should be established to enunciate the real goals of drug education. This group would review the problem in enough breadth to include the use of illegal drugs, the abuse or harm that comes from improper use of non-prescription preparations, the problems arising from the misuse of prescription drugs and the general problems of the drugs we will adopt in the future. The committee should consider means of training people in an intelligent understanding of what a drug really is so that people can best be able to regulate their own consumption. The committee should consist of members of the white and non-white communities in proportion to the extent of the drug problem in their respective communities. Because the non-white community is least able to finance the establishment of indigenous drug programs, funds and services made available to the committee should be concentrated in that community.

National Awareness of Drugs as Cross Racial Problem; *Minority Caucus*

2.13 *One of the most tragic consequences of American society has been its unwillingness to admit to the all encompassing nature of the malignancy defined as drug abuse. Of even greater concern is the apparent callous disregard by the white power structure for the environmental components which have created cultural depression and despair.* Periodically there are issues of such magnitude that a coalescence of efforts between all groups is attempted for the express purpose of maximizing international and experimental expertise. The crises of drugs, long considered a sociocultural phenomena among minorities, has touched the nerve of the nation; belatedly so, only because of its penetration into white middle class suburbia. The commonality of types of drugs used among both non-white and white would negate the belief that economics alone are responsible for the movement into a drug experience.

We, however, cannot overlook the institutional nature of white supremacy domination in allowing the perpetuation of the inhumane systems of economic, social and political oppression that both foster and reinforce the drug abuse system in non-white communities. There has been little concerted effort on the part of presumed allies of non-whites to honestly address themselves to the elimination of these systems. Only in instances where intervention has been of some economic importance—i.e. urban renewal, dead-end jobs that give responsibility but allow no authority, new and innovative experimental methods of drug intervention, ad infinitum—have the legislative and executive branches of both state and national governments demonstrated concern.

It does not seem critical at this meeting that we address our attention to establishing a new "pseudo-bureaucratic system", still undefined in terms of structure and responsibility, to focus attention on the all visible problems and inequities that exist in non-white areas.

Community Organizations and Unconventional Programs; *Minority Caucus*

2.14 To successfully implement an effective treatment program, a unique and diversified approach is needed and must be adopted in the areas of evaluation and counseling, employment and fidelity bonding, treatment, recognizance release, and civic and social involvement.

An adequate program should contain these basic elements:

A screening process which is designed to *properly* evaluate the applicant's problems, needs, and attitudes; and also to acquaint the applicant with the program goals and activities. Action at the appropriate level would follow. For example, if employment is indicated, central effort would be directed to the persuasion of employers to hire the ex-addict. The hitherto exclusionary fidelity bond covering the employer's liability would be offered as an inducement. Such persuasion would be enhanced by the superior record of ex-offenders whenever they are given employment opportunities. If the applicant then becomes addicted to narcotics or alcohol, referral for medically supervised treatment would be made, after which the subject returns to the program for group and/or individual discussion and the supportive aids as required.

Complete assessment of his medical needs with adequate resources should be provided to meet those needs.

Rehabilitation would be reinforced through active involvement in lawful civic and social affairs. This includes addressing youths in the school systems on the disadvantages of crime and narcotics and contacting community groups for the purpose of developing an awareness and concern for related problems.

Preventive education and consultation are among the measures that must be used in attempts to reduce narcotic abuse and subsequent predictable criminal behavior.

Program activities should also include the broadening of fidelity bond coverage; efforts to persuade skeptical employers to entrust ex-offenders with job opportunities; the deterrence of youthful criminality and narcotic abuse through example by corrected and rehabilitated men who have been "through the mill"; the abolition of U.S. Government barriers to employment following a period of good behavior; probation, conditional work release; and other practices through improved performance in the "square" world by individuals once considered incorrigible.

Scope of Treatment Programs

2.14a Drug abuse program treatment centers should be so organized to provide comprehensive service to marijuana abusers, soft drug abusers and hard core addicts.

Drop-in centers provide only social support for hard core heroin addicts. These centers are popular in treatment of soft drug abuse. We question the investment of money in this type of drop-in centers unless these centers have the capacity to cope with all the needs of hard core addicts as well.

Financing of Treatment Programs

2.14b Methadone maintenance programs should receive the financial support that allows the treatment of each participant for at least two years, if necessary, with all the medical, psychological and social services provided. Experience in existing programs indicates this means expending $1500.00 to $2000.00 per addict per year for two years. Maintenance programs should emphasize the human needs of the individual rather than the urgent need to protect property.

Special monies should be allocated to finance demonstration projects in areas of high incidence of heroin addiction. Grantees should be required only to maintain usual governmental fiscal procedures.

Special Program Requirements

2.14c A comprehensive drug abuse program should have the capacity for rendering specialized treatment of different kinds of drug abuse.

Personnel in a comprehensive drug treatment center should be trained to cope with the substitution of one addiction for another (i.e., heroin addiction for alcoholic addiction).

Support the establishment and adequate financing of live-in therapeutic facilities of various philosophies in all communities who have within their population a thousand known addicts.

Every comprehensive drug treatment program should aggressively extend to every participant the opportunity to try to handle his drug problem without substitutive therapy but having all support services made available to him. He should not be excluded from comprehensive drug treatment programs because he refuses methadone maintenance.
The ultimate goal of every program should be *complete drug abstinence*.

All treatment programs should encourage self-help. No programs should be so constructed to foster dependency and prolonged involvement in the program.

The use of blocking drugs in place of opiate substitution is to be preferred since the ultimate goal is, first, non-addiction and then a drug free life.

Innovative community developmental projects should involve addicts, non-addicts, ex-addicts, anti-addicts and youth addicts in goal directed efforts toward altering life styles. These projects can provide extension of therapeutic effects to individuals not ready for established treatment services.

Drug Abuse in the Military; Veteran Treatment; *Minority Caucus*

2.15 There appears to be little question that the subject of drug abuse in all areas of the military and with returning veterans has evolved into a major problem. This problem is particularly true with those veterans who have acquired a drug habit while in the service and returned to their respective communities who are not prepared to effectively deal with them.

In view of the burden these individuals place on their families and communities, a much more meaningful and humanitarian posture must be assumed by the military and Veterans Administration.

To this end, we strongly put forth the following recommendations:

Military and VA Separation Briefing

2.15a Just as all branches of the military provide a period of basic training for individuals entering service, they should also provide a comprehensive period of de-processing for individuals returning to civilian life. The purpose of these de-processing centers would be geared to reacclimating the individuals returning to civilian life, determining the existence of a drug problem, and taking proper steps to remove this problem before the individual returns to his community.

Transition to Civilian Life

2.15b *The military should and must change their attitude about chronic drug users among their ranks from that of wrongdoers subject to discharge under other than honorable conditions to one of a medical problem which must be dealt with by the military.* The medical aspect should take into consideration the elements of service and non-service connected disabilities. During the period of readjustment to civilian life and search for meaningful occupation, the level of frustration is frequently great, especially for the minority veteran. He is confronted with all the insensitivity, prejudice and discrimination accompanying such transition into the community. He turns to the use of drugs, or continues his usage, and the destructive behavior associated therewith. To alleviate the burdens of such activity, we recommend that a system be devised to determine the various levels of disability derived from the use of drugs during active duty or after separation from the service so that he will receive the support services from the Veterans Administration presently available to other service connected disabilities.

Change VA Policies

2.15c The Veterans Administration must change the policy of its hospitals from treating only select neuropsychiatric disorder patients to include those individuals who have a drug problem.

Marijuana Should NOT Be Legalized; *Minority Caucus*

2.16 *The Minority Caucus of the Drugs Task Force does not recommend that the use of marijuana be legalized.* We do recommend that all judicial penalties be removed for possession or use of marijuana. Courts will be required to remand all violators to therapeutic agencies. The many judicial, sociological, and ethnic disadvantages of the present system of controlling the use of this drug has caused us to arrive at this position. It is important that the majority of the Task Force understand that we do recognize and fully understand the nature of the marijuana problem, and we do sympathize with those others desiring to alleviate it. However, the racist system within which we must struggle for survival, the lack of conclusive scientific evidence of the neurophysiological effects of the drug, and the possibility that its legalization may render it yet another addition to the large number of capitalist enterprises that sap the energy and motivation of the residents and undercut the economic base of the minority communities, dictates this posture.

Perhaps the most detrimental effects of the present legal status of marijuana in relation to minority groups is the use of marijuana as a tool for political and social repression and discrimination. The structure of these laws today permit a wide range of different punitive measures for the use of marijuana and thus it is the perfect tool for social and racial discrimination. There are numerous cases in which minority political activists and poor ghetto and barrio youths have been given excessive sentences for use of marijuana. Furthermore, the courts have a different standard for the application of justice in drug related problems to the poor, the white, and the racial minorities.

The present method of dealing with the marijuana user not only unjustly considers him as a criminal but also there is a complete neglect for the social and psychological pressures which engenders marijuana use among minorities. Even though we do not advocate the outright legalization of marijuana, we do want to bring about a change in the legal structure of dealing with marijuana which would take into consideration the problems of minority groups which give rise to drug abuse. The keeping of marijuana illegal or its outright legalization would consider only the effects of a deep social problem and not its causes.

Marijuana Laws Need Revision

2.16a We, *therefore, advocate a change in the marijuana laws which would take into consideration the underlying social problems which cause drug abuse and also encourages help for abusers.* Among the most important considerations which lead us to stress the need for the use of therapeutic methods is that in many instances the use of drugs among minorities is a reflection of the greater difficulty they encounter in coping with social and psychological pressures. Also, the demotivation and the lethargy sometimes produced by the over abuse of marijuana produces social ramifications which must be dealt with. Therefore, because the over abuse of marijuana can produce detrimental effects on a certain type of personality, it must be considered as a sickness, analogous to the problem of alcoholism.

Therapy Should Replace Punishment

2.16b Thus, the need for a shift from a punitive to a therapeutic treatment of the marijuana user is obvious. In consideration of the fact that the use of marijuana can have different results depending on the environment and the reasons surrounding the taking of the drug, it is also important to determine whether there is actual or potential over abuse of marijuana for any particular user. Once this is determined by competent medical authorities, therapeutic treatment should follow. The kinds of treatment should consist basically of three types. There must be personal counseling with a person who would be qualified to deal with the problem not only in medical and psychological terms but also one to whom the patient can relate. The treatment must also be given by a person who is capable of instilling an image of self-respect and cultural identity in the patient. Another type of treatment would involve the use of educational devices for teaching the nature and effects of marijuana and the hard drugs.

Finally, recognition should be given to the possibility of a relapse of marijuana abuse as being analogous to an acute exacerbation in a physiological or psychiatric illness.

In those cases in which the user of marijuana is unable to enter into the mainstream of society as a productive self-sufficient member, there should be provided Federally financed training and job placement programs.

Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Linked; *Minority Caucus*

2.17 We believe that one of the more insidious problems of the modern youth involves the use and abuse of alcohol. We define an associative phenomena between drugs and alcohol and recognize primary alcoholic use and habituation, cultural or acquired, and secondary alcoholic use and habituation superimposed upon a primary matrix of drug abuse.

Economically deprived youths often begin drug abuse by excessive imbibing. The introduction to euphoria, nihilism and oblivion have their root causes in this process. It often continues after other drugs are added by an individual to his specific abuse list. There are some methadone maintenance patients and some patients psychotherapeutically maintained who turn to excessive alcohol use as a means to establish acceptable euphoriant states. Probably the greaest single deterrent to patient success in the age group of 18-24 in methadone maintenance programs is excessive alcoholic intake to replace and reinforce early euphoriant states. Therefore, *we strongly recommend that all drug addiction programs incorporate the treatment of the pre- and established alcoholic.*

The National Institute of Alcoholism has just received X number of dollars to combat the problems of alcoholism in the United States.

It has been clearly established that 20 percent of all hard core narcotic addicts (heroin) have signs of alcoholism at necropsy.

We strongly recommend that those skills that have been developed in the field of heroin addiction rehabilitation be used in the arena of alcoholic rehabilitation and that those programs in addiction be funded through N.I.A. to establish alcohol treatment programs in narcotic addiction centers. These programs should be pilot projects evaluated from day of formation. Health industrial jobs can then be expanded and rehabed addicts can then be employed in this newly created area.

New Evaluation Measures Needed

2.17a Programs located in the "National Laboratory" must have different yardsticks for measuring program success. "Taj Mahal" based addiction programs located in the larger community have evaluative criteria specific to their patient population, drug assessment, and behavioral patterns. The aura of these very middle class oriented programs are entirely different from those in highly ethnic populated areas. Therefore, we recommend a new set of criteria for their evaluation and measuring of patient progress of these programs.

Economy and Employment

All recommendations were approved by the Task Force members present in general session. Drafts were initiated in workshops.

Need for More Flexible and Job-Relevant School Curriculum

3.1 The existing educational system, especially at the high school level, has failed to keep options open for students to meet their individual needs, to adjust their educational curriculum as their interests and aspirations evolve and to adequately stimulate students in the pursuit of education. These failings have been especially acute in relation to preparing students to move into work. The recommendations which follow are designed to make the educational system more flexible and responsive to the specialized needs of certain groups. Moreover, society at large has placed excessive importance on attainment of a college education, to the point individuals not wishing to pursue higher education, or are unsuited for it, are pressured in this direction anyway.

Reduction of "Tracking" and Elimination of "General Education"

3.1a In order to make the basic educational system more flexible, major efforts must be undertaken to break down the current system of tracking students early in their high school careers. Specifically, *the general education curriculum which typically prepares students for neither jobs nor college, should be phased out, and systems should be developed for integrating academic and vocational education curricula.* At the same time, students should be given a much greater opportunity to transfer among vocational and academic curricula and, in fact, avail themselves of offerings from both areas. These developments will not only add to the flexibility of the school system, but will also help break down the stigma all too often associated with vocational and career preparation in the schools.

Expanded Counseling

3.1b To facilitate the adjustment of youth into a pattern of education relevant to their long-term employment and educational aspiration, there is need for a greatly strengthened vocational and educational counseling program, both in schools and in institutions outside the schools so that youth might initially make intelligent choices of academic and vocational pursuits. Moreover, the nature of this counseling should be increasingly focused on work and career options, as opposed to the typical "academic" oriented counseling offered in high schools today, which too often focuses on the continuation of education into college at the expense of vocational related guidance. In addition, the nature of counseling provided should emphasize the needs, aspirations and interests of the individual student rather than excessive focus on the employment and occupational demands of the general economy.

Cooperative Education and Work-Study Programs

3.1c The ability of high schools to offer students curricula relevant to current going needs will be greatly enhanced by increased involvement of employers in development of the school curriculum. Also, students' ability to move into work upon leaving school will be greatly enhanced by initial participation in work. Accordingly, stress should be placed on development of cooperative education and work-study programs which will simultaneously provide students with useful part-time and summer employment, experience in employment relevant to their career aspirations, where possible, and close involvement of employers with the school system.

Implementation: The precise knowledge for basic implementation of all of these proposals immediately is not at hand. Counseling techniques and knowledge remain uncertain, ways of breaking down curricula barriers while retaining academic standards are uncertain, and cooperative education—while having some notable successes—remains largely in a developmental stage. Nevertheless, while the ultimate in career education is not at hand, much that is now done is clearly wrong and major steps can and should be taken to alleviate existing deficiencies.

A. Total funds provided by the Federal government for career education should be greatly expanded from their current paltry $450 million annually for vocational education to $2 billion (the current level of Federal manpower programs). But this assistance to states and communities should be based upon quality programs, involving flexibility of movement among curricula, employer involvement in curriculum development, and skill relevant to training. These funds should not be reserved solely for programs designated as "vocational". Rather, any curriculum should be assisted which builds in employment and career development subjects. We commend as an example the Dayton, Ohio career education system which has served that community well.

B. Federal and state governments should greatly expand their resources for school counseling and Federal aid should be contingent upon possession by school counsellors of knowledge and familiarity with the world of work, such as recently retired persons and those who have engaged in employment counseling outside the schools. At the same time, the school counseling program, administered by the U. S. Department of Labor, should be greatly strengthened.

C. In order to assure adequate numbers of qualified counselors to carry out the above objectives, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor should initiate a *joint* program of training educational and employment counselors (to meet the needs of both schools and employment agencies outlined above). This training should emphasize the needs of both education and employment for all students.

Financing Students' Career Education

3.2 A serious impediment to the ability of students to avail themselves of the education and training most relevant to their individual needs, and especially for continuing education and training upon termination (either drop-out or graduate) from high school, is the existing mechanism of financing career relevant education. Public financing is provided almost solely through vocational education and recently developed manpower training programs for those out of school. But these systems typically fail to offer options to individuals for continuation of education and training over a period of years after leaving the formal school setting.

National Educational Opportunities Bank

3.2a This Bank would provide funds for higher, vocational and continued education. The Bank would borrow money at Government rates and then loan money to post-secondary students, regardless of the student's personal resources. The Bank would recover the loans by payments of a fixed percentage of the borrower's income tax, collected over the 30–40 years following the period of the loan. By such a placement of funds for payments to educational facilities in the hands of the consumer—the student—

schools would be forced to set their own priorities and a variety of private educational institutions would be made more viable. More youths would finish high school if they knew continuing education was available at no immediate cost.

Educational Vouchers

3.2b *Under this plan, a publicly accountable agency would issue a voucher for a year's schooling for each eligible student. The voucher could be turned over to any school which had been designated as acceptable by an Educational Voucher Agency.* Each school would then turn in its vouchers for cash. Widespread use of performance contracting could provide a means of transition from the existing system to a voucher system—as eventually parents, using vouchers, would contract directly with educational centers. Such a voucher system would certainly promote the development of a more diversified secondary school system and one more related to existing career possibilities. The inclusion of private vocational schools into such a system would force ineffective public school vocational training to adjust and provide occupational training more closely related to the world of work.

Adult Basic Education

3.2c Basic remedial education should be available to all adults wishing to avail themselves of it, comparable to free public education for youths. While not restricted to youths, we anticipate a large number of individuals under 24 years of age who have dropped out of school would choose to return either on a full-time or part-time basis.

Implementation: A. Establishment of the National Educational Opportunities Bank can be accomplished immediately. Congress should appropriate an initial $500 million for such loans and provide for sufficient continuing appropriations until this bank becomes self providing—in an estimated 10 years at an additional $20 million annually.

B. Educational vouchers have a number of potential pitfalls including possible growth of poor, superficially attractive schools or excessive factionalism of the school systems. Accordingly, this proposal should be adopted initially on a pilot experimental basis to determine how best it might be run and what its likely impact is. We propose an annual appropriation of $50 million for this purpose.

C. Annual appropriations for existing adult education programs should be administered by the U. S. Office of Education should they greatly expand from the current $55 million to $100 million per year.

Student Employment and the Academic Year Cycle

3.3 *Every high school and college student should have the full opportunity for meaningful employment during the periods when he is not in the classroom.* The benefits of practical work experience as an integral part of the educational process are recognized and accepted. Academic subjects become more relevant. Career planning and the development of realistic vocational aspirations become easier. Dropout rates decrease. Student income is supplemented. The development of individual responsibility and self-discipline is enhanced.

The principal obstacle to offering maximum student employment opportunities is the current academic year cycle resulting in the traditional "summer vacation." This places virtually all students on the job market during the same three month period.

Employers, both public and private, generally offer as many student jobs as possible during the summer months; massive organizational efforts are pursued in metropolitan areas and most large employers have developed special student employment programs. In other than the summer months, there are limited part-time and week-end employment opportunities.

Academic Year Cycle Change

3.3a *The current academic year cycle must be changed to spread out the job opportunities.* This change is a basic one which would result in only one-fourth of the students in secondary schools and colleges being on extended vacation periods of three months at any given time. The change need not be universal. Students in agricultural areas, as a practical example, would probably not benefit. But the vast majority of students in the United States would benefit, as would educational institutions and employers.

The best way to illustrate the proposed change is to take the example of a single high school; the example is applicable to a nationwide system, both in secondary and post-secondary schools: (1) divide the calendar year into four equal quarters of 13 weeks each; (2) design all academic courses to be of 13 weeks duration. Hence, for the traditional 4 years of English, instead of 4 academic courses of 36–29 weeks each (or 8 semesters), the student would take 12 academic courses of 13 weeks each. Decisions would have to be made for the single course offerings of ½ year duration; they would be reconstituted to either one course of 13 weeks or two courses of 13 weeks each; (3) offer every academic subject each quarter throughout the calendar year; (4) the academic year for a student would be any three quarters, with vacation the remaining quarter. Students in each grade level would be divided into four equal groups, with each group scheduled to take vacations in different quarters. Special considerations such as members of the same family, sports and other organized extracurricular activities, job opportunities, etc., would be given in scheduling; (5) faculty staff would also teach three quarters and be off one quarter as a general practice, on a staggered basis.

The advantages to the change are many. All students off-campus during a particular quarter would have the full opportunity for employment. In addition: (1) the utilization of the school plant would be increased one-third; (2) the economy would benefit with a more even load on transportation and recreation facilities and further development of recreational resources and related services for tourists; (3) employers could plan better job opportunities for students. Instead of extra jobs during the summers, permanent student positions would be created, with each one occupied by 4 students during the year; (4) once families adjusted to the change, better vacations could be planned; summer would no longer be prime vacation time; (5) there would be a requirement for additional faculty; the costs of which would be offset by maximum utilization of administrative and support staff, as well as a one-third increase in the use of existing school plants; (6) if colleges adopted the new system, it would greatly enhance the very desirable expansion of cooperative education programs. Arrangements between school authorities and employers for work-study and cooperative education agreements are now seriously inhibited by academic schedules.

Implementation: A. The President endorse.

B. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare actively plan, promote and assist.

C. The U. S. Office of Education, through Congressional action, provide financial assistance to states for cost in implementation, which would not be great.

D. Governors of each state be encouraged to endorse.

E. Organizations representing the presidents of colleges and universities, state superintendents of education, and other educators such as the National Education Association be encouraged to endorse.

Increased Flexibility in Work Scheduling

3.4 In order to utilize time, energy and talents of people more effectively and satisfactorily, considerably greater attention must be directed to scheduling of work and leisure with significant emphasis on flexibility. For growing numbers of Americans the proportion of a lifetime available for leisure is increasing greatly. However, for a vast number of others this 20th century expansion of free time is still a dream. These include many of the poor, migrant workers, tenant and other low income farmers who must return to their own farm chores after a day of employment elsewhere, self-employed small business people and the millions of women still expected to do double-duty in and out of the home. Obviously, those with little or no free time are less affected by time scheduling. As their economic plight improves, the recommendations of this section become more germane.

Whatever the circumstance of the individual, he or she will have fewer tensions and frustrations and opportunity for increased satisfactions as the scheduling of various activities is more flexibly and rationally arranged. This applies not only to the hours at which paid employment begins and ends, but also to the number and variation in days of the week devoted to work, leisure, community service, and self-enrichment, resulting in larger blocks of vacation time and extended periods of retirement. It also requires that these hours, days and weeks be planned in conjunction with life activities of people whose patterns fluctuate over the course of a lifetime.

In a family where both parents are employed or where there is only one parent—in a combination this is a majority of American families—work scheduling should take into account the timing of the school day, week and year of the children as well as the work day of the adults. Reassessments and redivision of labor in and out of the home to provide greater equity are imperative. Rather than require people to accommodate to the inconvenience and nearly insurmountable barriers imposed by rigidly traditional schedules, it is more sensible and humane to rearrange schedules in terms of total family needs.

There is nothing sacred about the 40 hour, 5 day work week. Concepts of full-time and part-time work are people-made concepts. The very notions of "work", "leisure" and "retirement" tend to be not only hard to define but also based on assumptions that need re-examination. Just as the goods and services of our society are maldistributed, as discussed elsewhere by this Task Force, so too are the hours and years of employment unfairly distributed. Men and women alike will gain as the inequities and inflexibilities are removed.

Recommendation to Government and Industry

3.4a *Business, industry, unions and educators should make all possible efforts to explore the feasible work scheduling and increased free time options within their realm and to make these options available to their employees and those they represent, in accord with the preferences of individual employees.*

Federal Leadership: Office of Work Scheduling

3.4b The Federal government should take steps to lead the way, both as an employer and a government, toward more flexible work scheduling opportunities. An Office of Work Scheduling should be developed within the U.S. Department of Labor. This Office should: (1) research existing and encourage experiments in work scheduling options; (2) provide information and consultation to employers and employees concerning the work scheduling options possible in their realm of employment and provide impetus for individualized scheduling techniques; (3) publicize and promote the general idea of increased work scheduling options to employer and employee groups and the public; (4) encourage the Federal government to develop feasible work scheduling options for its employees, thus setting an example for industry to follow; (5) develop links with other appropriate agencies, particularly the developing and computerized job bank system.

Work Sabbaticals

3.4c Work sabbaticals should be encouraged by industry and government to provide a renewal for the individual through lengthy educational and retraining endeavors or extended vacations. Institutions should provide reasonable support during absence. Additional support could be provided through loans and grants similar to those proposed for college students.

Implementation: The cost of work scheduling options within the entire economy is impossible to estimate. However, it should be noted that such efforts hold the potential of having no cost, or possibly resulting in increased production and performance. The cost and implementation of a work sabbatical program is vague due to its newness.

Hiring Requirements and Practices

3.5 Employers, including government, have traditionally relied on years of schooling, psychological tests and reference checks of such items as police records for the selection of new employees. Such approaches and standards often serve to screen out potentially capable disadvantaged youth from ghetto areas. Usually the tests are based on a white middle class population and therefore do not accurately measure the abilities of other groups. Police records, commonplace among disadvantaged populations, do not necessarily reflect inherent dishonesty or criminality. Years of schooling are not always the best indicators of the knowledge and skill required for job performance.

To expand the job opportunities available to disadvantaged youth, we recommend that employers re-examine their hiring requirements and testing practices. As a means of rejecting applicants for employment, the use of tests should be suspended, in the spirit of the recent Supreme Court decision, until they can be better geared to a minority population. Police records should not be used as an automatic disqualification, but instead each instance should be examined individually for its application to a specific job.

In place of years of schooling, the skill and knowledge required for each job should be identified and ways of measuring the needed skill and knowledge be devised.

Federal Leadership in Hiring Practices

3.5a We call upon the Federal government to take the leadership in this reexamination and thus serve as the model for private industry in devising more job-related selection methods. We ask the President to direct the Civil Service Commission to initiate this reexamination of policy in all Federal departments and agencies without delay.

Available Jobs and Manpower Are Mismatched

3.6 In a matter of weeks will begin one of the most traumatic periods that American youth has experienced. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women will enter a labor market which is incapable of absorbing them—either in terms of permanent or summer employment. The impact will be felt by young men and women at all levels of education, from the secondary school dropout to the college graduate with the Ph.D. degree.

Current economic circumstances are a major factor in unemployment as youth will experience, and other recommendations from this Task Force offer means of providing emergency relief for the young people concerned.

But factors other than economics contribute to this distress on both a long term and short term basis. With the bitter evidence immediately obvious, we would be derelict in not calling for remedial action. We believe the following circumstances recommend attention:

Career Counseling Inadequate

3.6a The career counseling of youth (as distinguished from personal or clinical counseling) from secondary schools through higher education is being given short shift. (1) When there are career counselors in the secondary schools, they are under such pressure from society to assist youth in getting into higher education that there is scant time and little encouragement for them to acquaint these young men and women with the career opportunities before them. (2) It is particularly tragic that youth dropping out of high school or terminating with the twelfth grade are especially neglected with respect to job or career possibilities. (3) The rapid proliferation of new types of employment opportunities is too infrequently known to students or to counselors. Parents, normally a source of information, are especially incapable of keeping up with these developments and assisting their children in this respect.

Only Generalist Preparation Offered

3.6b With the cry for relevance, a key word in youth's challenge to higher education, evidence suggests that young people at all levels of education are being offered only the traditional generalist preparation with little or no career consideration.

Media Failure

3.6c In an era notable for a virtual explosion of knowledge, resulting in new horizons for personal commitment, media are notably lacking in helping young people find out "what it's like" to spend eight hours a day in these pursuits.

Youth Not Served By Data

3.6d While the Department of Labor in general and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in particular should be commended for their forecasting of supply and demand in the labor market, youth is simply not being served in terms of the more sophisticated data which are now an imperative need. To have the labor market glutted at the present time with engineers, physicists—many with advanced degrees—who, two years ago were in short supply, can no longer be countenanced. Particularly tragic has been the recent experience of those being trained as teachers.

A corollary is that higher education can no longer shirk the responsibility for admitting young people to any pursuits in any number with indifference to supply and demand. Unhappily it has been our tradition for labor and education and the Federal departments concerned with them to pursue essentially separate courses, dignified largely by professional courtesy.

Federal Funds Required

3.6e So rapidly have technological advances occurred that there are available today highly sophisticated linkings of computers and multi-media hardware adaptations offering remarkable career counseling programs for self-use by students at all levels of education. Their widespread adoption is being delayed by the lack of developmental monies which Federal funding could quickly resolve and with disproportionately valuable and remarkably prompt implementation.

Implementation: As a consequence of the foregoing, we propose that either within the presently constituted framework of federally established responsibility or by the creation of a new authority, these interests be consolidated. We further propose that this authority uniquely represent youth interests as related to job and career, education, training and placement.

Summer Job Programs for Disadvantaged Youth

3.7 Many cities and towns now have a system set up for the employment of youth in the summer. This usually means a combination of Federal, state and local jobs as well as jobs from the private sector for disadvantaged youth.

The failing of many cities in this area has been three-fold:

First, there hasn't been, in many cases, a close scrutiny of many of the individuals placed in the program. Many times guidelines are not specified, are too general, or not followed. The end result has been the inclusion of many individuals who do not fit criteria for disadvantaged youth.

Second, the problem of "follow-up" has generally been neglected in this area of employment. Follow-up is really essential to an individual's success if he is truly disadvantaged and if he has the kinds of problems that would affect his performance and attitude on a job.

Third, few cities have had any long range plans for the youth whom they employ in summer work. Few cities set up any long range goals such as the prevention of hard core unemployables because of their bad job habits, which could have been good habits if tended to in the earlier stages of employment; i.e., summer jobs.

We recommend a plan which could take effect on a small trial stage in 1971 in many cities and could be expanded nationwide in 1972. We recommend a plan similar to the B.B.D. Plan (Boston Brighter Day Plan), which was instituted in Boston, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1970. This plan went far beyond the following proposal:

First, a tightening up and enforcement of guidelines by every summer job program to allow only those youth who are truly disadvantaged to enroll. The generally accepted economic poverty guidelines should act as a guide for the development of specific stipulations.

Second, we recommend that those agencies directly working with youth and those agencies placing youth in summer jobs institute a follow-up system for the youth. Follow-up at minimum should take into account counseling and guidance for the youth. Agencies should be instructed to develop other means suitable to their situation that would help to insure the success of the youth on the job. Success could be measured in attendance, performance, motivation on and education of the job.

Finally, we recommend that long range goals be formulated by those agencies directly involved and that the cities use summer job programs as a means to help in long range prevention of hard core unemployables.

Implementation: We recommend that the President, through the League of Cities, bring this to the attention of all mayors. We recommend that the President give his support to this proposal to bring some quality and purpose to the youth summer job programs.

National Job Information Service

3.8 *One of the most significant problems concerning employment is the lack of information which workers and potential workers have about the work opportunities available to them. This problem is particularly acute for youths as they enter and re-enter the "job market".*

Knowledge of all available work opportunities would provide numerous advantages to both "employer" and "employee". It would provide more appropriate job placement, improve both "employee" and "employer" satisfaction and, therefore, reduce training, turnovers and job hunting costs.

A system to provide job information could be available to all interested persons and cover all occupational and skill levels from a local, regional and national perspective. This voluntary system would be known as the National Job Information Service.

Both job seeking groups and business can be motivated to play crucial roles in constructing a rational framework for urban and general employment by establishing a truly comprehensive and coordinated nationwide system to match individuals with job and training opportunities, utilizing a computer-based system. Such a system should accurately define and describe both the job market and the employment needs of communities and the Nation, provide technical assistance to facilitate the flow of vital information and develop a more effective means of communication among all involved interests.

Assess Existing Programs; Pilot Project

3.8a An independent body should be given the responsibility of assessing existing programs in the public and private sectors in order to take full advantage of all experience to date. After an analysis of existing programs, a pilot project should be implemented immediately, possibly on a state level. The Task Force urges the Department of Labor to continue and emphasize proven programs.

Job Placement Centers

3.8b Every community or district should have highly visable and easily accessible centers for the output and input of job placement information. Persons seeking employment should be able to register their abilities and interests at this center after counseling and necessary training. They would then receive existing information which is relevant to their employment goals. More money should be provided through the Federal and state governments so that an adequate number of staff and counselors can be provided for groups with specific employment problems. One function of the counselors would be the relief of the Veterans' Employment Representatives who are already overburdened at the state and local levels. Employers should be able to register openings and requirements and receive information about persons currently seeking jobs in areas related to their openings. This service would be available to all who need or want it without limitation as to skill levels or nature of employment.

The design and installation of this service would be delegated to a special agency under a performance contract with a timetable for the completion of the pilot project being three years. Until a National Job Information Service can be initiated, state agencies are encouraged to provide job information to youth. Adequate funding from the Federal government should be provided to carry out the mission.

Free Transportation

3.8c *Because of the inability of low income citizens to move easily as the job market fluctuates from city to city, it is proposed that free transportation be provided for low income citizens to the job markets of their choice.*

Free Emergency Housing

3.8d *Finally, free emergency housing is to be provided for these low income citizens in the new cities for a maximum of 30 days per family or individual.*

Youth Opportunities

3.9 It is recommended that the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, disbanded April 1, 1971, be immediately reinstated forthwith as the President's Council on Youth Opportunity with adequate Federal funding provided. It is recommended that Youth Opportunity Programs be studied in depth in cooperation with state employment services so that their efforts may be maximized in planning jobs for youth.

Youth Employment in Centers

3.9a It is recommended that youth be employed by Youth Opportunity Centers to obtain a better interpretation of the needs of youth in the employment market. If state merit service examinations are required for these youth to be employed they should be waived. Employment should be considered especially for minority groups.

Presidential Support for Summer Jobs for Youth

3.9b This Task Force calls upon the President, governors, mayors, county officials, business and labor leaders to recognize the great need for youth to obtain jobs this summer. We are deeply concerned over the unavailability of a substantial number of jobs for youth. Every effort must be made to create and fill jobs with young people. We urge the President to use all means of mass communication (including the Advertising Council) to express his serious concern about the employment problem and we further urge him to use his office to encourage employers to hire youth. We further recommend that this proposal be transmitted to the President immediately for implementation and action rather than be held up for the finalized conference report.

Review of State Laws Which Bar Employment

3.9c We recommend that the states review existing laws and insurance requirements which bar young people (ages 16, 17) from employment. We further recommend that youth advisory councils to the different state governors take this on as their project within the next few months to see that it is implemented immediately.

Veterans Programs; Education

3.10 In reviewing the Advisory Task Force Report on the Work and Training of Veterans we feel that the present system of a specific monetary allowance for the education of veterans based on the number of dependents be retained as opposed to the proposal of a system modeled after that which prevailed after World War II.

Military Job Counseling

3.10a Means of communicating with servicemen and women about education, training and other benefits available should be established on a uniform basis with the military services carrying the major responsibility of individual counseling.

Need for More Information

3.10b More information than is currently available is urgently needed to determine what services veterans need, especially with such small groups as female veterans and various ethnic minorities. Such studies should also suggest specific programs which can be initiated.

Expanded Work and Training Opportunities Outside the School System

3.11 Education and the learning process do not terminate upon completion of formal schooling. Moreover, large numbers of individuals find themselves, upon leaving school, ill prepared for employment (due in no small measure to the inadequacies of the school system outlined above), or they find their skills ultimately outmoded by emerging technological developments. Accordingly, the Task Force strongly endorses the thrust and direction of federally funded manpower training programs which emerged during the sixties, and offers the following proposals to enhance their relevance to current needs:

Expanded Resources

3.11a Total resources for these programs are greatly deficient in relation to total needs. While the universe of persons who might profit from such programs has been variously estimated to range between 10 and 15 million, the total out-of-school persons served annually is scant in proportion—about 900,000. Accordingly, to the extent administrative capability exists, these programs in aggregate should be greatly expanded. At the same time, major efforts should be taken to identify and eliminate those programs operating poorly or which are failing to meet their stated objectives.

Automatic Expansion of Job Programs with Rising Unemployment

3.11b Increases in aggregate unemployment, which we have recently experienced, impinge especially hard on groups with difficult employment problems at the outset. Manpower training programs have a particularly strong potential role in such instances since they are capable of targeting directly on those groups in society most severely affected. Accordingly, the potential contribution of these programs to aggregate economic policies should be explicitly recognized by the provision of automatic expansion with rising unemployment.

Implementation: A. We are unprepared to advance a particular dollar magnitude for expansion of manpower programs, largely because of our concern over the feasibility of rapid expansion over existing levels. We do endorse such expansion as is feasible. We further support the Administration's efforts to improve the overall administration of these programs by tracking down the wide range of separate categorical programs and decentralization of basic administrative decision-making to states and communities, though not in terms of the specific manpower revenue sharing proposal proposed in the current Congress.

B. While endorsing the general principle of manpower program expansion with rising unemployment, we recognize the difficulties of carrying out such expansion on short notice. Accordingly, we endorse the modest proposal currently under consideration in Congress to increase Federal funds automatically by 10 percent with an increase in unemployment from 4.5 percent to 5.5 percent.

Comprehensive National System of Public Service Employment

3.12 This country faces a paradox. On the one hand, there are over five million unemployed individuals, including over one million 16 through 19-year-olds. On the other hand, public services—such as schools, hospitals, housing and ecological concerns—are starved for funds and manpower. Creativity and leadership are needed to put together the unemployed's need for work and the public, or human services' need for manpower to improve the quality of national life.

It is clear from current economic conditions that the private sector of the economy can absorb only a relatively small fraction of the unemployed. The only source, therefore, capable of financing and sustaining the massive program required is the Federal government.

A comprehensive national system of public service employment would have special meaning for youth. It would satisfy the needs of youth for employment and income, whether full, part, or summer-time. It would be organized to maximize opportunities for education and training, explore vocational interests, achieve personal and career development and—for those who want it—an opportunity to perform a needed public service. This system would be especially appropriate and useful for youth who—for whatever reason—do not find the present normal education and work programs satisfactory to their needs.

Public Service Employment for One Million

3.12a *It is recommended that the Congress of the United States enact legislation to provide a comprehensive national system of public service employment* which will fund employment opportunities and related services for one million currently unemployed youths and adults and in the process improve the quality of human services offered in communities throughout the nation.

This legislation must embody the following provisions:

(1) The quality of jobs developed in this program is paramount. They must not be menial, deadend, or dehumanized "make work" jobs. Instead they must be productive, dignified, satisfying, challenging and contributing to the betterment of a public or human service.

(2) The jobs must be career development oriented. Built-in must be maximum opportunity for advancement. This can be achieved by restructuring jobs into an upwardly mobile sequence, providing education and training to develop entry level and advanced skills and offering effective supervision of work experience.

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(3) Participation should be open to all youths and adults with problems around school and work. Included could be the poor, minority group members, students or dropouts, the unemployed and the underemployed—anyone who is unable to work his/her way through the regular school or work program.

(4) Compensation should be at the prevailing rate of pay for the job being performed.

(5) The program should be operated with the utmost flexibility and individualization. Entry, exit and reentry should be voluntary and be accomplished without impediment. There should be the widest possible options with respect to the types of jobs and work—study combinations.

(6) Sponsorship of the job programs should be granted to any public or non-profit entity capable of handling the responsibility. This could include units of the Federal, state, or local governments, non-profit organizations, service institutions (such as hospitals and schools) and community groups. Community-operated programs are especially recommended for innercity and rural communities.

Implementation: To develop this program will require careful planning over a period of time. The urgency of the needs, therefore, requires immediate action by Congress. We feel such a program is long overdue and demands urgent attention.

Humanization of the Work Situation

3.13 In America today the meaning of work is rapidly changing. We live in a country where increased free-time potential, changing social needs, growing participation of women in the work force, technological advancement, higher educational levels and diversification of individual preferences are causing changes in the understanding of the organization and the substance of work. Our society is emerging into a "post industrial" society with the ability to provide a decent means of life for *all* citizens if we use our resources and technological ability to their greatest advantage.

Under the current conditions and emergent affluence, the upper and middle classes have the ability to focus their primary attention on social, ego and self-actualization needs. This implies a desire to have work deemed meaningful. Youth 17 to 23 years old, according to a recent study, want employer-employee relationships which are less impersonal. They want to have some decision-making power and want to be able to maintain individual style of dress without jeopardizing their chances for advancement.

Essentially the humanization of work calls for a recognition of individuals involved in all paid and unpaid situations as "total persons." This means that both employees and employers must cease viewing and treating each other as objects designed to fulfill limited functions. Rather, attention must be directed to total needs and potentials of *all* involved. We recognize that for many blacks, tenant farmers, migrant workers, American Indians and Appalachians being treated as a total person includes having basic needs met. They are not operating from the same basis of security as middle and upper classes.

There are three factors which are necessary in order to optimize a humanized work situation. First, the basic goods or need satisfying items motivating human efforts must be equally distributed. Second, there must be a mutually agreed upon common purpose among those involved to motivate cooperative and full human interaction. Third, constant communicative effort must be made to include all people in participation in the work effort. Some broad areas of application might include motivation communication patterns, authority and decision-making and individual rights.

Work situations are highly diverse and must be developed within specific constraints of each organization. However, there are certain basic goals which both employers and employees should pursue in order to make the work experience more satisfying and productive for all persons involved. Experimentation is needed to develop successful programs for each specific situation. In order to improve the work experience, we suggest that the following recommendations be used as guidelines wherever possible.

Motivation

3.13a Minimal Monetary Compensation. Economic compensation should be equitable in relation to time, effort and skill exerted on a job. The employee should not be forced to sacrifice adequate income to gain fulfillment in employment and his pay should provide for nutrition, shelter, health care, clothing and education. In addition, a person should be employed in a safe, sanitary, work-conducive atmosphere.

Group Incentive Plans. Group and plantwide incentive plans should be incorporated into economic compensation plans. Incentives offering bonuses will facilitate social interaction and cooperation and will reduce negative influence on individually competitive "rate-busters".

Job Enrichment. "Job enrichment" efforts should be made to create jobs which are interesting to employees; i.e., an attempt should be made to tailor jobs to fit the individual. In some areas, jobs could be enlarged for more challenge and diversity. Routine jobs could be improved by "job rotation" programs, more accessible "transfer" programs and a real possibility of promotion.

Employee Initiated Assignments. Opportunities should be more widely provided via supervisors and counselors to allow employees to suggest and pursue individually initiated and designed projects which they think would be of value to the organization.

Communication

3.13b Interpersonal and Intergroup Relations. Employing organizations should foster a climate designed to encourage members of the same and different levels of the organization to understand each other as total persons through sensitivity and encounter groups and person-to-person awareness.

Understanding of Organizational and Job Context. Workers of all levels should understand the significance of their actions and job assignments to the total organization. Efforts should be made to give each employee an overall view of the organization and his role in it.

Executive-Employee Interaction. Executives and staff should visit all areas of their organization and spend a period of time doing the work of employees in order to gain an effective understanding of their employee's perspective. In turn, employees should be given the opportunity to experience or understand the responsibilities and perspectives of the executive level.

Decision-Making and Policy Setting

3.13c There is a need to promote the greatest feeling of involvement and to make organizational decisions more effective.

Participatory Decision-Making and Policy Setting. All possible efforts should be made to involve everyone affected in the decision-making process. This especially applies to "subordinates" and when this is not feasible they should quickly and completely be informed of the decisions and reasons leading to it. Also, through open channels of communication and involvement *all* employees' feelings should be taken into account in the policy setting procedure.

Position Responsibilities. Organization patterns and roles should be as flexible as possible in order that they be responsive to the individual's interests and talents, and thereby maximize their potential.

Youth Advocate. Business, labor, education and government institutions should set up a youth advocate position or office. The advocate position should be a responsible one that coordinates and transmits points of view between youth and the institution. To youth, the advocate should be advisor and champion.

Individual Rights

3.13d In considering humanization, certainly the acceptance by others of one's individual nature is of utmost importance. The ingrained assumption that a job title and position necessitates a prescribed social role should be eliminated.

Discrimination. *An employer should never be allowed to discriminate in hiring, employing and firing due to "life style", sex, handicap, age, race, color, creed or national origin. Any such discrimination should be actively and vigorously prosecuted by Federal and state agencies empowered to do so.*

Individual Design and Scheduling. Employment organizations should make every effort to design the job around the person in order to utilize his utmost capabilities. More options for individual work schedule preferences should be provided.

Life Style. Needless work policies and restrictions concerning clothes, expression and overall "life style" should be removed. Individual identity must be maintained.

Implementation: These recommendations are generally addressed to the leaders of business, union, governmental, educational and other types of institutions.

Dual Minimum Wage Opposed by Subcommittee

3.14 The Subcommittee on Minimum Wage disagrees with the Advisory Task Force Report's proposal for a dual minimum wage for the following reasons:

(1) It encourages discrimination and exploitation of youth.

(2) We do not believe that this will solve the problem of youth unemployment.

The current level and coverage of the minimum wage is inadequate and, therefore, this subcommittee moves that the Task Force on Economy and Employment endorse a national minimum wage of $2.00 per hour and increased coverage to include all types of employment and employees.

Elimination of Job Discrimination

3.15 The members of the Subcommittee on the Elimination of Job Discrimination, aware of the immediate and harmful effects of inadequate employment opportunities and discriminatory employment practices against youth and minorities, propose that the following recommendations become national policy.

Expansion of Enforcement Powers for the EEOC

3.15a The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Its mandate was to oversee compliance with Title VII of the Act. We find, however, that EEOC in the 7 years of its operation has had very limited effect on the problem of discriminatory employment practices. Its recourse against offenders of Title VII has been confined to report gathering and attempts at voluntary conciliation. EEOC's record of progress thus far has not been sufficient to warrant the complete confidence of all Americans. It is in this light that the following recommendations are made.

The EEOC is prevented from protecting persons from discriminatory employment practices because it lacks sufficient enforcement machinery. We recomend legislation which will grant to the EEOC:

(1) the power to subpoena;
(2) the power to issue cease and desist orders;
(3) direct jurisdiction over cases delayed in state FEPC machinery;
(4) authority to initiate pattern of practice suits (transferred to EEOC from Department of Justice.);
(5) extended jurisdiction over employers or unions with eight or more employees or members;
(6) extended jurisdiction to cover all public employees, employers and public educational institutions; and
(7) permission and requirement to make public minority hiring statistics.

Expansion of the OFCC

3.15b The Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) has the machinery to enforce compliance with affirmative action hiring plans and non-discriminatory hiring practices by employers or unions with government contracts. But OFCC has never terminated a contract for non-compliance because of the absence of executive leadership or lack of staff and adequate resources.

We recommend:

(1) that the Director of OFCC be elevated to status of Assistant Secretary in the Department of Labor;
(2) that OFCC be provided with increased staff and resources for investigations and follow-up by OFCC field representatives;
(3) that OFCC office and staff be established in the 10 regional districts;
(4) that OFCC ensure that affirmative action is complied with by terminating immediately any contractor who fails to comply with an affirmative action plan within 30 days of notice that the plan is unacceptable.

These recommendations depend largely on executive leadership and commitment.

Contract Compliance Guidelines at Local Level

3.15c We recommend that all political subdivisions establish their own contract compliance guidelines for equal employment opportunity similar to those of the Federal government.

Youth Employment Opportunities Lacking

3.15d We youths believe that there are not enough short term jobs for those of us who seek temporary employment. There are some of us who need jobs year-round but even more of us who need jobs during summer months. We also believe that a job orientation program would serve as a meaningful and beneficial aid to those of us who are seeking jobs. In light of this, we offer the following recommendations.

The high rate of youth unemployment and discriminatory practices against youth mandates that youth employment services be established on every governmental level:

(1) states should create Youth Employment Services to operate year-round to find jobs for young people. Funds should come primarily from the Federal government but the operation should be staffed largely by youth;
(2) outdated restrictions on youth employment in state and Federal laws should be reviewed;
(3) business should accelerate its efforts to employ youth. Useful work experience can be found in remedial jobs for young people seeking temporary employment;
(4) pilot projects such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Youth Conservation Corps should become on-going permanent programs with the number of available job slots and the amount of available funds increasing yearly;
(5) courses on job-seeking and job-orientation should be provided for students in job-hunting techniques and procedures. Teachers should direct more of their time to non-college youth;
(6) business should actively recruit, for example, Spanish-speaking youth. Language should not be a barrier to jobs. Employers should provide bilingual staff personnel who can assist Spanish-speaking minorities on the job and also aid in directing those interested persons to community centers providing opportunities to learn English;
(7) we object to the failure to authorize increased funds for Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) from 1970-1971 while the actual need has doubled. We also recommend reversal of the decision to cut transportation funds for NYC participants.

Relocation of Industry

3.15e Decentralization of American society and the relocation of industry. In light of the decentralization of American society, the relocation of industry to the suburbs, and the reconversion of industry into non-defense production, we recommend:

(1) that industries be held accountable for the consequences of relocation by facilitating the transfer of employees as well as facilities, and into areas with open-housing supplied;
(2) that industries not locate in areas which have exclusionary zoning laws which prohibit low income housing;
(3) that industry relocation serve to further the cause of equal housing opportunities for its employees and city residents;
(4) that industries not locate in areas that do not have adequate public transportation;
(5) that industries locate in areas where employment needs are greatest.

Discrimination Against Women in Employment; Child Care Centers

3.16 The Joint Subcommittee on Job Discrimination Against Women and Child Care Centers was formed to deal with a problem that the WHCY ignored when organizing. These two topics are interrelated in that child care is one solution by which women may be freed for employment opportunities. This subcommittee feels that discrimination against women is an issue that is separate and unlike discrimination against minority groups. This subcommittee also feels that age and race discrimination multiply the hardships of women.

Discrimination against women is a legal, social, political and economic problem. This subcommittee recognizes that the educational institutions must be reorganized to make young women and men more aware of employment opportunities. We also urge legislative action to facilitate women in employment and strong executive action to enforce new laws.

Government has been unresponsive to the needs of women. For example, the U.S. Congress has rejected the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for several sessions of Congress. This committee believes that the ERA is essential. The Supreme Court has also refused to rule on the issue of whether women are persons by not including coverage for women under the 14th Amendment.

We believe there is a need for government and private action to discourage discrimination against women. The following facts obtained from the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor support our resolutions.

(a) Women and girls of every age and race have higher unemployment and underemployment than men and boys.

(b) Three-fourths of working women are still in low skill, low paying, low promise jobs.

(c) The unemployment rates of women between 16 and 22 are the highest in the country.

(d) The absence of child care centers severely limits women's economic independence.

(e) Women college graduates earn on an average the same earnings as black men with high school education and white men with only an 8th grade education.

(f) Over 800 laws in this country actually discriminate against women.

Women's Rights

3.16a *As the subcommittee, we strongly recommend the adoption of the following resolutions* by the Economy and Employment Task Force and the WHCY:

(1) the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment;
(2) the formation of a national clearinghouse for the collection and distribution of information pertinent to women in or seeking employment;
(3) the reorganization of the educational guidance system so that individuals are not restricted to sex-determined roles;
(4) the continuation of withholding of Federal funds from educational institutions which practice sexual discrimination;
(5) legal steps to open trade unions to women;
(6) that working hours be made more flexible for both men and women;
(7) the legalization of abortion;
(8) the expansion of birth control centers and programs;

(9) a more truthful approach in the interpretation of women and women's issues by the mass media;
(10) the U.S. government should begin a trend of equality for women by hiring many qualified women for decision-making and policy-making positions.

Child Day Care Centers

3.16b There is an increasing awareness throughout the country of the lack of adequate day care services. The growing trend toward the employment of women with young children is a major factor in this development. Many children would benefit greatly from day care. These children include those whose mothers work, or those whose home environment is not conducive to healthful mental or physical development.

This subcommittee envisions child care as a quality child development program. We feel that it is of paramount importance that women have the option to become employed. Child care enables women to take advantage of employment opportunities. Abortion and birth control are legitimate solutions for career-minded women. However, child care gives an alternative to the families and single women who want to have children.

More Funds Needed; Business Participation

3.16c To fulfill the unmet need for child care services, it is essential that Federal appropriations be greatly enlarged and that there be much more financial participation from the states and localities.

In addition, *this subcommittee recommends that private organizations and businesses become involved in providing child care services.* Businesses which have a substantial female labor force should establish child care centers at the job site. Small businesses could join and establish a central child care program. Considering the tremendous attrition rate in large cities, women and children may be able to remain longer if child care services were provided.

Also, this subcommittee is in favor of community-based centers. As well as caring for children, it would greatly enhance employment opportunities for young people and elderly people in addition to mothers and fathers who could serve as paraprofessionals in the centers.

Endorses Children's Conference Report on Child Care

3.16d The White House Conference on Children considered the problem of child care. This subcommittee endorses their recommendation for a system of supplementary child care services which

(1) is available to children of all ages from conception through youth, to families from every kind of economic and social background and to every community, with priorities to those whose needs are greatest;
(2) is available through a wide variety of different types of programs and during all hours of the day and time of the year that children, families and communities need it;
(3) has the full range of components required to promote the intellectual, social, emotional and physical growth of the children it serves;
(4) insures parents a decisive policy role in the planning, operation and evaluation of programs which determine the environment in which the children live;

(5) places the major responsibility for planning and operating child care and development centers at the local level;
(6) reflects and builds on the culture and language of children, families and the communities being served.

Implementation: A. Quality child care programs require substantial funding. Thus, this subcommittee endorses "The Comprehensive Community Child Development Act of 1971" and "The Universal Child Development Act of 1971" now being considered in Congress.

B. In order to provide child care which includes a total educational experience, this subcommittee calls for the training and retraining of both professionals and paraprofessionals on day care staffs and in research in child development. This could be referred to the Office of Education under HEW.

C. This subcommittee also endorses the WHCC's proposal that "a Presidential task force be created to broaden public understanding of day care needs and to mobilize continuing support for their fulfillment." Their actions should include an intensive publicity campaign aimed at public, private, and non-profit groups, business and labor, professional associations, community organizations and other groups to encourage their collaboration and cooperation.

D. After our deliberation, this subcommittee has found itself concurrent with the WHCC recommendations concerning child care and calls for the adoption of Discussion Item K—Day Care Centers of the Advisory Task Force Report to the WHCY.

Discrimination Against Pregnant High School Women

3.17 There is definite discrimination against those young women who became pregnant while attending primary and secondary institutions of public education. In most cases their pregnancy results in the discontinuation or, at least, interruption of their education in public school. This discrimination is related to the economy and employment of the United States. Those who because of this discrimination have been unable to obtain a valid high school diploma have great difficulty in finding employment. At best, the General Education Diploma (GED) provides entrance to areas of higher education mainly in colleges or universities which have open enrollment. Thus, these women are unable to find employment as they have no high school diploma or are extremely limited in their choices to obtain a college degree which would further enable them to find jobs for which they are suited.

Opportunity to Continue Education

3.17a *The State, through its institutions of public education, primarily involving junior high school and high school students, should insure that those who do become pregnant are not discriminated against and are provided the opportunity to continue their education* so that they might obtain their high school diploma and become eligible for employment if they so wish or be free to enter, unrestricted, into any other form of continuing education.

Implementation: We propose that the Task Force on Economy and Employment demand as a solution to this problem, to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare that the Federal government, through agencies that regulate and fund public education, should insure that those who do become pregnant during junior high/or high school years have the opportunity to continue their education at the school they have been attending or a local school of comparable quality in which they could receive the same junior high and/or high school diploma.

Consumer Protection; New Agency Undesirable

3.18 The preliminary Task Force Report suggested the creation of an independent agency, the Federal Consumer Advocacy Agency (CAA), with the authority and staff to advocate the consumer's position in courts, Congress and the Executive Branch. Although the intent is good, the effectiveness of such an arrangement would be short-lived.

In order to make our point, acknowledge the history of other independent agencies which are currently in existence. For example, the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) was originally created to protect the consumer; today it is a political vehicle and referee for disputes between competitive firms. The FDA staff is underpaid and is placed in the position of servant to the industry which it is supposed to monitor. Likewise, other independent agencies, such as the FTC, ICC and FAA, originated as crusaders in the public interest, and then aged into organizations with illusory concerns for the public.

Unfortunately, the creation of the CAA will become ineffectual because of the political processes which will remove any effective consumer advocate. In addition, lobbies of industries will smother the potential of adequate appropriations for such agency. Hence, the consumer, like the drug and food purchaser, will become victimized by an illusory protection agency of false security.

As an alternative to the CAA, the following recommendations are suggested:

Tax Exemption for Consumer Organizations

3.18a Today, there are relatively few groups which can be considered consumer advocates, and these groups suffer from low funding.

It is proposed that tax exempt privileges, which are presently reserved for educational institutions, be extended by the Internal Revenue Service to cover independent activist consumer organizations. This would allow groups that do not presently have this benefit to enjoy increased funding, and thus take a more activist role.

While this possibility also carries the possibility of abuse by industry, the multiplicity of groups that would inevitably spring up will make an effective cross-check on each other. In addition, the control by a firm or private individual would be diminished because of a five percent maximum from any contributor which would be required in order to have a tax exemption.

Sources of revenue would be made public by the exempt consumer organization so as to provide the public with a credibility review.

This tax exemption arrangement is suggested in lieu of the CAA. There would be more possibility of effective consumer advocacy as reflected by the public interest, rather than confining consumer protection surveillance to one federally-funded and politically-controlled organization—the CAA.

Consumer Research Fund

3.18b Federal interest in consumer protection should be reflected in research appropriations. The revenue for purely technical studies would be dispersed among tax exempt educational and consumer institutions or organizations. Each institution or organization grant will be limited to five percent of the body's total budget so as to preclude the entity's dependence on the Federal government.

In order to avoid the dangers of headhunting on a particular firm, or the undue influence by a single company which is under investigation, all research projects would be cross-industry comparative studies.

The annual distribution of grants would be handled by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under the advisorship of a Consumer Research Committee made up of five U.S. Representatives.

To eliminate the possibility that a critical report would be filed away, CRC would be required to make any such reports available to consumer activist groups and to the press. This would also allow such groups to have a slight check on these studies by allowing them to comment on them.

"Quality of Life" Needs More Emphasis

3.19 During the last decade, the economic production of the United States has grown at annual rates approaching $50 billion. Late in 1970 our Gross National Product (GNP) passed the $1 trillion mark. Despite considerations of inflation, we have clearly reached unprecedented levels of basic economic and industrial wealth.

Although there are wide differences of opinion concerning the distribution of wealth, it can be generally stated that our economic growth has been passed on, in varying degrees, to most sectors of our population. Despite this apparent and unprecedented affluence, the social and political trends of the nation indicate a deep and widespread discontentment, particularly among the youth population. Although the nature of this discontent is vague and multivariant, it might generally be described as a basic dissatisfaction with the overall conditions of life. These problems are increasingly referred to as a concern for the "quality of life." This concern considers economic wealth important but also places heavy emphasis on conditions beyond the immediate realm of economics, such as the natural environment, pollution, health, over-crowding, cultural opportunities and political influence. *Basically, concern over the "quality of life" suggests a growing disenchantment with the primacy which economics and "materialism" have had in our society and calls for increased individual and social concern for matters not directly within the sphere of economics.*

The apparent widespread dissatisfaction and available statistics imply substantial validity to three interrelated theories. First, despite apparent economic progress, the overall "quality of life" within the United States may actually be declining. Second, there is a possibility that the "quality of life" may not be declining but that it is meeting neither its fullest potential, nor the expectations of vast portions of the population. Third, is the possibility that the primacy of economic concerns to our informational, organizational and decision-making processes may be causing imbalance and suboptimization of the "quality of life" within our society. These three prospects suggest a need for vigorous reevaluation of our decision-making criteria and national priorities. Such reevaluation and possible social adjustments will require information and analytical tools which are either not available or inadequate at this time, but it must be understood that GNP is not the sole indicator of the quality of life.

Ultimately, effective decisions and actions cannot be made concerning social objectives unless means can be developed to measure initial conditions and changes in conditions. There are four major problems which must be pursued by efforts to provide information for today's social problems. First, vastly expanded efforts must be made to provide information concerning non-economic and semi-economic matters such as pollution, health, and human skills and potentials. Second, ways must be developed to provide visibility and a just balance of attention to unnoticed yet critical social problems. Third, methods must be developed which provide information about the actual success of public programs in attaining the objectives for which they were created. Fourth, there is a need for a balanced system view of social concerns to facilitate optimal and efficient enough provision of relevant information to generate political pressures through awareness.

The prospect of creating broad economic and non-economic measurements to provide balanced indicators of the conditions of life within our society is feasible and partially researched. Work to this date suggests that while it is unreasonable to expect a single variable such as the GNP to be an indicator of the "quality of life," it is reasonable to envision the development of a series of consolidated social measures which will provide a general view of the social welfare. However, the sophisticated and interrelated social statistics that are becoming increasingly critical to future decision-making have not yet materialized.

Measurement of the "Quality of Life"

3.19a Criteria should be developed for the measurement of the "quality of life" for both individuals and the general society and mechanisms should be developed for the collection, interpretation and presentation of information pertaining to this criteria. The criteria should include the following areas of social and individual concern:

(1) Natural Environment. Preservation of natural beauty and wildlife and opportunity to regularly experience unspoiled wilderness and water. Tabulation on the use of reserves of natural resources.

(2) Living Environment. Overall maintenance of urban, suburban and rural living and working areas. Maintenance of minimal conditions for clean air and water, available space, general sanitation and health, housing and structural safety and building and street aesthetics.

(3) General Health. Basic sanitation and safety maintenance, ample available health care and intensive medical services for the young and elderly.

(4) Income and Basic Economic Security. Minimization of individual economic deprivation, minimum guaranteed living standard, equitable distribution of wealth and continual opportunity to pursue improved economic conditions.

(5) Employment and Productivity. General provision for productive opportunity which provides equitable personal rewards, socially

beneficial effects and optimization of an individual's ability and willingness to contribute.

(6) Productive Employment Areas. Study of the variations from the mean which exist within minority groups regarding educational attainment in relation to earning power.

(7) Aggregate Economic Advancement. Overall economic production of society which takes into consideration negative and preventive production (such as smog control devices) and environmental deterioration costs.

(8) Training, Education and Culture. Opportunity to learn usable skills, problem solving abilities and the value of the world.

(9) Justice and Freedom Concerning Threat and Coercion. Minimum threat of harm or loss of security. Extent of positive as opposed to negative sanctions used in societal and individual interaction.

(10) Individualism. Opportunity for free expression and selection of "life style", and levels of social tolerance and alienation.

Informing the Public on "Quality of Life"

3.19b Performance indices should be developed and reports should be released in a way which provides a highly visible and simple indication of how our society is functioning in each of the above categories. Social index reports should be publicly released on a regular basis in much the same way as current unemployment and price figures. Information concerning the means of calculating these indices and background data should also be publicly available.

Implementation: There is no clear cost data concerning the development and maintenance of an expanded social report system. The 1971 Federal government allotment for statistical programs is approximately $161 million. It does not seem unlikely that a vastly expanded statistical program would cost twice as much as existing mechanisms.

Although raw data concerning the various categories for an overall "quality of life" report might be collected by agencies and organizations concerned with the subject of measurement, it is undesirable that the nature of the overall report be unduly influenced by a particular interest or perspective. It is therefore suggested that the final accumulation, interpretation and presentation of "quality of life" data be undertaken by an expanded version of the Council of Economic Advisors. The title of the existing Council should be changed to the Council of Economic and Social Advisors. The existing staff and resources of this body should be broadened and plans should be made and implemented which will allow a fully balanced regular report on the overall "quality of life" by the latter half of the 1970's. Ultimately, the Council should assume balanced stature and the title of Council of Aggregate Social Welfare.

Tax Deductions for Environmental Pollution Cooperative Costs

3.20 Any cost incurred above and beyond the expenditures required to meet present statutory regulations in the correction of the industrial pollution of any company or business should be allowed to be written off on the tax return of that said company. This deduction must meet Environmental Control Commission criteria of stopping or reducing the industrial pollution by a substantial amount within the taxable year. Should the IRS find any evidence that unjust price increases are passed onto the consumer due to the purchases of environmental correction equipment and manpower cost, this tax deduction should be denied to the particular company. This deduction shall be subject to present IRS regulations on deductions; i.e., purchase vouchers as corrections systems.

Limit Defense Budget; Cut Vietnam Funds

3.21 *Be it resolved: That the defense budget for the fiscal year 1972 be limited to 50 billion dollars.* Experts and groups such as the Brookings Institution, the Urban Coalition and Mr. Seymour Melman have estimated that this would not endanger national security.

Further resolved. That such cuts shall come from the areas of counterinsurgency and nuclear weapons systems.

Be it further resolved: That no further military funds be allocated for Vietnam except for the purpose of withdrawing troops.

Guaranteed Annual Income

3.22 Every citizen of the United States has the right to a decent and adequate standard of living. Today, over 24 million U.S. citizens, or 7.4 million U.S. families (10 percent of all U.S. families), are considered to be living in poverty. This incidence of poverty and the factors causing it have made it necessary to develop some form of income maintenance program to meet the subsistence needs of those incapable of supporting themselves.

Of the current Federal funds administered under the welfare program as it stands today, approximately 70 percent of the money goes to aid for dependent children, 20 percent goes to the aged and the handicapped, and of the 10 percent remaining, less than half goes to those who are employable or trainable.

Replace Welfare System

3.22a *The current welfare system of payments, services and commodities should be replaced with an income program which guarantees every person in the United States sufficient cash income for decent and adequate standards of food, shelter and clothing.*

We further recommend that the program be designed to include the following essential characteristics:

(1) Eligibility based on need. The only requirement for eligibility should be a simple declaration of need.

(2) Determination of Eligibility. An individual or family could become eligible through two processes; a) the potential recipient may request cash allowance upon submission of standardized proof of earning level; or b) the administrating agency will inform persons of their eligibility and noneligibility as a result of IRS records.

(3) Benefit levels. Cash benefits must be sufficient to provide for a decent and adequate standard of living. The benefit level should be no less than the low standard of adequate income established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, including regional variations.

(4) Subsidized public services. The cost of essential services such as child care, vocational counseling, family planning, legal and health services, should, if necessary, be directly subsidized by the Federal government. Participants in the program should be free to purchase the services they need or want. These services should be integrated with those used by more affluent citizens and

be available to all on a graduated fee scale based on ability to pay. Food stamps, commodities and all other such alternatives to cash should be eliminated.

(5) Work requirements and benefits. While no one should be required to work or enroll in training as a requirement for initial or continued eligibility, work benefits such as those which work on the same principle (but no monetary values) as Family Assistance Plan or National Welfare Rights Organization should be built into the program so that participants are encouraged to work and encouraged to find higher paying jobs if possible.

(6) Privacy. All precautions should be taken to insure that privacy and other rights of participants are protected, including the legal right of appeal.

Implementation: This income program should be federally financed and administered under Federal standards. Administrative procedures should be as simple as possible. A good model for the administration of the income program is the Social Security system, whose costs of administration are far lower than the costs of administration of any private insurance company performing the same kind of function.

Participants in the program should be included in program development, decision-making and implementation.

This recommendation is to be sent to the House Appropriations Committee for adoption by the Congress of the United States, and is to be administered under the existing HEW Department.

[Recommendation 3.22 was a joint proposal submitted by the Task Force on Economy and Employment and the Task Force on Poverty]

Education

All recommendations were voted on by the entire Task Force after they were reported out of their respective workshops. The entire body also voted to include the minority resolutions in the report.

Overall Concerns; Reorder Spending Priorities

4.1 The United States of America, the nation with the largest Gross National Product in the world, should offer an educational system which equips her people to live meaningfully in a rapidly changing society. However, this nation has not met this goal. Misplaced priorities have diverted both human and financial resources.

Federal, state, and local governments must support the recommendations outlined by the 1971 White House Conference on Youth Task Force on Education. *The Federal government must reorder national spending priorities so that the Federal contribution to primary, secondary, and higher education will total 25% of the national budget* (the current Federal contribution to education is 3.67%). In addition, state and local governments must also reexamine their spending priorities and determine ways in which more funds can be channeled into education.

Implementation: (1) Defense spending *must* be reduced. The Federal government currently spends 46.45% of the Federal tax dollar on defense. These funds must be redirected so that a larger percentage will be spent on education—to establish new, more effective educational systems, including programs to serve individuals from low income backgrounds and persons with nonacademic interests.

(2) *The United States must set a specific date to withdraw all troops from the Indochina conflict. American tax dollars must be redirected from this expenditure to efforts to solve problems, including those involving education, housing, environment, poverty, drugs, etc. The Federal Government must not divert American tax dollars from these efforts to military research and development.*

(3) Special priority for the distribution of these new funds must include funding black colleges and small private institutions, as well as other institutions which serve a significant number of minority students.

(4) With the reallocation of Federal tax dollars, methods should be developed that do not rely solely on personal property taxes as the means of financing education at the local level.

(5) A system of accountability must be developed for cities and states using this increased share of Federal monies for education.

Experimental and Innovative Systems

4.1a As we begin to understand the intricate process of learning, we are discovering that needs exist which can only be met by new methods. However, during the past decade, educators as well as the public, young as well as old, have recognized the tremendous difficulty in creating changes in, and alternatives to, the present educational system. Many attempts to create innovative systems such as drop-out centers, street academies, free schools, etc. have been thwarted by a lack of funding. Assistance from all levels of government and from the community must be forthcoming.

The government at all levels should place great emphasis on funding experimental and innovative systems because the need for changes in and alternatives to the present educational institutions are so great and the obstacles to change are so formidable.

Implementation: A. Local communities should provide support from both the private and public sector; those endeavors should include newspaper coverage, public relations, etc.

B. Local communities should develop systems to assure that the dollar amount provided for the education of each American child will be equitable.

C. The Federal Government should (a) provide for grants which would be made through Federal agencies, such as the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity, to individuals and groups attempting to meet the educational needs in their community which are not being met by the public school system; (b) provide all levels of government and private agencies with funding incentives to schools which agree to try such innovative programs and procedures as upgraded classes and "free" or informal classrooms; (c) design applications for funds which are sufficiently simple for those individuals not skilled in filling out bureaucratic forms to have a chance to receive financial assistance; (d) base the evaluation of programs on the decision as to whether or not the goals of that particular program are being met, rather than on arbitrarily imposed criteria, such as improvement of the reading level, etc.

Student Participation; Educational Governance

4.2 America's democratic system is rooted in the belief that all citizens who are affected by the system should have a voice in deciding how the system is to be set up. This concept of a representative democracy has not been universally accepted in our Nation's educational institutions. As students on all levels become increasingly socially and politically aware, the time has come to give students a voice in the policy and governance of their educational system.

To facilitate education, students must be thought of as participants, not merely recipients of the educational process.

Beginning with the secondary level, students should participate in educational decisions and student governance. They should also participate in broad-based policy decisions by having representatives on educational and governing boards at all levels and in governmental agencies. Special efforts must be made to include racial and ethnic minorities, students in vocational and non-academic concentrations, and other students who, for various reasons, traditionally tend not to be involved in educational governance. As members of the community, they should be indispensable participants in sound decision-making. In those instances where students are not voting members, steps should be taken to move toward giving them voting representation.

Implementation: Government at all levels should support student participation and should include students on all of its educational

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boards. State, county, and local governmental agencies should have student representation. High school students should be represented on boards of education. The legal regulations and guidelines for all Federal, state, and local programs that have impact on students and youth should reflect the above principle of participation.

Participation;
Higher Education

4.2a Policy making bodies in institutions of higher education should include students as voting members. Every institution should have clearly defined procedures, voted on by the total academic community, for selecting members of bodies which make and implement policy.

The procedures for selection of these students should reflect all aspects of the student community. Also, for truly effective participation, provisions should be made for terms of more than one year. Where financial need might prevent a student from participating, procedures should be established to provide the needed assistance.

Opportunities to earn course credit for involvement in university governance should be provided for student members.

Students should take seriously their obligation to participate when there are opportunities for real influence on policy. Some examples of areas in which students are seeking such a voice are recommendations on tenure and promotion, curriculum, grading reform, and course and faculty evaluation.

Participation;
Secondary Schools

4.2b Secondary schools are for students and students should be involved in their school's policy decisions, particularly those concerned with developing curricula and determining rules governing student conduct. Students should also have a voice in determining the criteria for evaluating teachers.

Students must be free to establish and should be encouraged to participate in student government which should be an integral part of the educational day. Student participation should reflect the entire student community; that is, ethnic, racial, academic, and age groups. All registered students should be eligible to hold office. Drop-outs should be allowed to have representation on all student governing boards.

Students should have active membership in parent-teachers associations.

A course in political principles using the school and community as a lab should be developed and students should receive some form of course credit for their work in governance.

Schools reflect the educational philosophy of the community served. Parents, school staff, and students are in pursuit of a common goal; a program which will prepare the participants for full, active, lifelong, and responsible participation in their community. Therefore, local, town, city, and county governments should establish youth councils which represent the total youth community. Opportunities should also be made available within the existing structural government for more individual student participation.

It is essential that parents be involved in the total education of their children. Therefore, schools must promote parental involvement. The schools must educate the community as well as the students.

Students and parents must be actively and meaningfully involved in decision-making processes in schools.

Secondary school students should be represented on all boards of education. These students should be elected by their peers. Where necessary state legislatures should alter existing laws or create new ones to permit widespread student participation on educational boards at all levels.

A study should be undertaken to determine what motivates students to participate in school and community affairs.

Participatory Experience

4.2c Student participation and full membership is needed not only on top level policy making and governing boards, but also on commissions, councils, and working committees throughout the educational system.

Schools, churches, and parents have primarily prepared youth for participation in society through an academic approach. A more meaningful approach would be to provide youth with learning experiences through actual involvement in civic affairs. Schools and colleges should stimulate realistic education beyond the classroom by providing opportunities to earn credit for learning experiences in business and government and/or service in community and world affairs.

Implementation: The possible benefits to be derived from each implementation are dependent on the receptivity of the faculty, administrators, and governing bodies involved. There is a need for a greater awareness on the part of faculty, administrators, and governing boards concerning the positive role which students can play in educational decision making. Discussions concerning how students can be most effective in decision making processes should be on the agenda of the other related organizations.

Code of Student Rights and Responsibilities

4.2d Ignorance and misunderstanding have traditionally been the root of many of society's most divisive problems. Recently, it has become increasingly apparent that many of the difficulties that have arisen in our educational institutions are due to a clear lack of understanding about the legal and social responsibilities of the institution to the student and the student to the institution.

We urge all educational institutions, both junior and senior high schools as well as all institutions of higher education to adopt a code of student rights, responsibilities, and conduct which will clearly define the legal and social relationships of the institution to the student and the student to the institution in such areas as speech, demonstrations, dress code, housing, class attendance, etc.

Implementation: A. The Federal government, through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, should commission a task force to develop a "model code" of student rights, responsibilities, and conduct which can then be disseminated to American educational institutions. A basis for this study may be the "model code" developed by the Student Rights Division of the American Bar Association, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, and other "model codes" currently in use at educational institutions throughout the country.

B. State and local school districts should also explore methods of providing such a code for their state's educational institutions.

Equal Education Opportunity; Ensuring Equal Access

4.3 Since the Second World War, the United States has been actively pursuing the goals of equality of educational opportunity regardless of one's age, socio-economic and cultural background, color, race, religion, sex, or physical differences.

Racial or ethnic isolation, whatever their cause, still deprives too many Americans of an equal educational opportunity. Patterns of discrimination usually mean inadequate teaching and run-down facilities resulting in the inability of millions of students to achieve their potential.

Equality of educational opportunity is also frustrated by other aspects of the American educational system which affect non-minority students as well: excessive fragmentation of the curriculum; often unrealistic prerequisites; still too many insensitive administrators, counselors, and instructors; and an overemphasis on the academically inclined with less attention being paid to those with other valid career goals. American education is also too often involved in the absorption of unrelated facts rather than the careful correlation of theory with practice.

Frequently arbitrary class periods, rather than interest and the nature of the subject matter, determine the time devoted to a subject. Within the classroom, the learning process seems to be more of a custodial than of an educational nature.

For the last century the public school system has been the foundation of American democracy. It has long provided a melting pot to acclimate new groups to the nation's value system. Today, however, Americans of different colors and races challenge this goal and the process by which it has been achieved. They rightfully seek the incorporation of their own cultural values and heritages into the educational process—an addition which should enrich all students equally.

Outmoded Curricula

4.3a The organization and content of secondary school curricula have been overly standardized to help those students who plan to enter college meet admission requirements. However, students entering junior and senior high school differ not only in competence, interests, and learning styles, but also in their prospects for future education and work. Secondary schools cannot serve the diverse needs of these students merely by adding curriculum tracks to the standard college preparatory sequence. (The Carnegie Unit system is an anachronism and should be dissolved.) Secondary school students must be offered opportunities to design individualized educational programs suited to their particular competencies and interests with the help of sensitive, informed advisers and counselors.

Neither do high school students require the same post-secondary higher education. With changing values and greater diversity among those pursuing higher education, further alternatives and options are needed. Those who have the capacity and potential to pursue one of these alternatives should not be denied an opportunity to do so because of age, cultural, financial, class, color, ethnic, racial, religious, physical, or sexual discrimination. We should also remember that the seeds which enable one to undertake an education beyond the high school are planted in the pre-school years. Our commitment for change must begin there if we are to benefit from the fullest development of each individual's potential.

Secondary schools and the various institutions of higher education must provide equal access to educational opportunities for all students who have the capacity, desire, or potential to benefit from a particular type of educational experience regardless of age, cultural, socio-economic background, color, ethnic, racial, religious, sexual or physical differences.

These institutions must also provide for and respect those individual differences by acknowledging that students have varying rates and patterns of learning and that they have a need to have their individual goals met.

Implementation: To further equality of educational opportunity and the equality of educational result, all levels of government must accept the responsibility for ensuring equal access to—and the accommodation of diverse interests in—the secondary and higher educational institutions of our nation.

A. *The Federal government must* (a) vigorously enforce existing laws and administrative regulations against discrimination and work positively to further integration, (b) provide greater support for school construction assistance to correct existing deficiencies resulting from *de jure* and *de facto* segregation, (c) secure adequate funding for special programs to assist administrators, counselors, and instructors involved in desegregation and integration efforts as well as for bilingual-bicultural programs to be offered in schools where there is a substantial minority population.

B. *The state governments must* (a) require and fund bilingual-bicultural programs in schools where there is a substantial number of minority students and provide that all educators granted certification for the public schools within their states complete a special program on cultural diversity dealing with the problems confronting the disadvantaged and bilingual student, (b) maintain alternative systems of education beyond the high school, each worthy of respect, (c) recognize the instructionally oriented institutions of higher education designed to educate the professional as being of equal merit with the more research-oriented state institutions, (d) mandate equalization of *per capita* public expenditures to remove the financial barriers which now prevent largely minority areas from having adequate educational facilities, programs, and personnel and in the transition period, provide additional support to rectify past inadequacies, (e) aid in the consolidation of small schools where appropriate to offer more adequate educational opportunity in rural areas, (f) exercise authority to establish school district boundaries that will provide a better balanced and more financially sound public school constituency than now exists in many urban-suburban communities, (g) increase state support for education through additional and more equitable sources of revenue—such as the income tax—in addition to the local property tax which largely finances American public schools.

C. Educators bear a particular responsibility for implementation of these recommendations. Simply adding more money—as necessary and as justified as that might be in many cases—to much of the existing educational system will not solve many of our current educational problems. What is also required is a firm commitment and the will to accomplish what is right.

Educators at all levels must (a) encourage students to re-enter the educational system after they have dropped out for employment, national service, or personal reasons (b) utilize as part of the curricula the student's total potential educational environment and not restrict the learning experience to the classroom, (c) establish programs to reeducate professional personnel in the use of the community as an instructional laboratory and to renew and improve their effectiveness as practitioners, (d) stress in the design of curricula critical thinking and problem-solving, (e) introduce bilingual-bicultural courses where the dominant culture and a significant minority of students can benefit from such a program, (f) individualize instruction and develop integrated core curricula in many fields to overcome course fragmentation and proliferation, (g) eliminate unreasonable course prerequisites related to level of education in order that students of diverse ages can mix and learn together, (h) experiment with alternative systems of evaluation —such as regular written faculty evaluations which analyze the student's potential in relation to a given level of mastery and/or which permit a student to repeat a course without failure until he has achieved that level of mastery—to overcome the negative effects which the present system has had on the learning process and in particular as it related to minority students, (i) reduce social class barriers within an educational institution through programs by which student, non-student, and parent alike, can gain a better understanding of each others' values and improve interpersonal relationships, (j) make school counselors more readily available to *all* students. The roles of these counselors should be determined at the local level by the students to be served, the employers, and the counselors. Assignments should be clear in recognizing the primary professional concern of counselors to be the worth and the well-being of students. A counselor's work may be complemented by trained student peer counselors, (k) improve the career advisement function by encouraging department heads to make information available on their respective fields, especially for minority students, (l) urge the faculty, who represent various disciplines in the sciences and professions, to work with their colleagues at the next lower level of education to identify and to encourage minority students to enter those fields.

D. *Industry and the professions must* (a) seek more from the educational process than simply performance of in-service training. The need is for individuals who are broadly educated, yet who possess the expertise and confidence in their chosen field. To deny the student of science and technology adequate understanding of the humanities and the social sciences—and, specifically, the capacity to read, to write, and to speak with precision—is not meeting the long-run interests of profession, industry, student, or society. Similarly, the student of the humanities and the social sciences must have some comprehension of the professional, industrial, and technical world in which he lives, (b) provide more internship, work-study opportunities so that students will work with successful professionals and firms who will in turn make available personnel and facilities in a joint effort with educational institutions, (c) continue efforts with government cooperation to assimilate and provide suitable employment for youth, since the attitudes of students toward education and their willingness to engage in serious academic study are influenced profoundly by their conviction as to whether or not their school performance will eventuate in worthwhile employment.

E. *The media must* more adequately meet the responsibilities which their use of the public air waves and the second class postal privilege imposes on them by (a) developing programs for self-learning and continuing education for young and old, advantaged and disadvantaged alike, (b) participating more actively in noting the accomplishments of ethnic minorities and the role they have played and the contributions they have made and are making, (c) reviewing existing programs and articles and creating new ones which will dignify all work which is done within our society, whether it is work done with the mind, the hands, or both.

Financial Aid Is Inadequate

4.3b The financial barriers to equal access to educational opportunity should be eliminated through the full funding of existing Federal programs.

Institutions of higher education postulate a goal of equal access to educational opportunity at a point in history when existing programs of great promise are grossly underfunded. At present each of the programs administered by the Division of Student Financial Aid and of the Office of Education is unable to meet the demand for dollars represented by approved requests for funding from institutions. The programs so underfunded are Educational Opportunity Grants (Initial Starts), Educational Opportunity Grants (Renewals), College Work Study, and the National Defense Savings Loan.

Of the three branches of special services, none can fund the institutional programs presently planned and approved. These programs are Upward Bound, Educational Talent Search, and Special Services.

The Civil Rights Commission has documented the gross underfunding of the predominately Negro land grant colleges from both Federal and state sources and attributed it to racism.

The Administration has failed in its budgetary request to fund the Bureau of Student Financial Aid programs even up to the level of the Congressionally approved appropriations. The level of funding requested by the Administration for Student Financial Aid in its proposals for the Higher Education Act of 1971 is insufficient to meet student need.

We desire to accomplish the goal stated forthrightly by the President that "no student shall be denied access to post secondary educational opportunity because of lack of money."

One measure of this attainment would be equalization, that is, matriculation rates equivalent for students from the two low income quarters of the population to those of the two upper income quartiles.

We recommend immediate full funding of existing programs in order that the goals of these programs may be accomplished. Recognizing the need for experimentation to achieve requisite efficiency, we argue less for form than for level of funding.

Implementation: Should the demand for educational opportunity become so great and grant funding remain inadequate, thus, denying our higher education to many millions of Americans, *we suggest that Congress carefully study the establishment of a Federal loan program whereby any individual with the capacity, desire, or potential for higher education may borrow up to $2,000 a year, not to exceed four academic years of higher education.* The interest and principal would not need to be repaid until four years after the completion of the educational period and then repaid through a surcharge on the individual's Federal income tax.

Relevant Education; Alternative Systems of Education

4.4 During the past few years students have protested the present curriculum in schools and colleges and have cried out for a 'relevant' education. For these students a 'relevant' education means one which will suit their specific needs. Thus, *instruction must become individualized and a large variety of alternative systems of education and forms of presentation, materials, etc., within these systems must be made available.*

Educational systems and programs must be made relevant to student's life situations and the probable futures that their world will offer. Students must be permitted to explore various areas of interest, which include the social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual and physical development of the individual. Students need to be allowed to learn outside the formal classroom and to receive academic credit for these experiences. They also need to move freely between vocational and academic programs. Educational systems must perceive and build their curriculum (which encompasses the total learning experiences of the student) on the basis that the total community is the context in which education occurs. Counselors should specifically be concerned with assisting students in identifying what options are available to them, in developing new options where none exist and in assisting students to exercise their right of choice.

Implementation: A. Local, state, and Federal governments should significantly increase and continue to fund research and development programs, as well as alternative systems, materials, and such techniques as performance contracting, the voucher system, deferred tuition programs, independent study programs, the Parkway Progress Program and work-study programs, etc. Increased funding should be provided for vocationally oriented programs which are integrated into the regular educational system. Other funds should continue to be specifically earmarked for specific vocational programs.

B. Institutions of higher education must continuously evaluate their objectives and design curricula to promote the growth of the individual. Students should be allowed to develop approved individualized programs of study. Courses should be developed offering learning opportunities concerned with interpersonal relationships and present day problems. Additional systems of secondary education are needed to provide for both the social and technical needs of today's students. Grading and college entrance and graduation requirements need to be thoroughly reevaluated and, in many instances, revised. Cooperative efforts between the university and the local community in the form of social and service learning and work-study programs must be strengthened.

C. Secondary educational systems, which include the students as well as members of their educational communities, need to periodically define and publicize their objectives and design curricula to achieve these objectives. Educational experiences should be provided which offer opportunities for students to relate with peer groups, other generations, and persons of diverse ethnic, economic and cultural circumstances. A counseling staff competent in academic, personal and vocational fields, should be available in the ratio 1:50 students. Schools should assume responsibility for job placement of all students, including drop-outs. Course requirements and the grading system should be thoroughly reevaluated and revised in many instances.

Cooperative efforts between the community and the school in the form of social and service learning and work-study programs must be strengthened. The school should draw from the talents and skills of the community men and women who should be recognized as vital educational partners.

D. Media must accept the responsibility of being a most important educational force. The FCC must establish regulations which protect media freedom while at the same time ensuring maximum educational benefits for the Nations' students and other citizens.

Couseling Services

4.4a The relevant school of today and tomorrow will be pluralistic in structure and function. It will provide a large variety of in and out of school, short and long term, and planned and spontaneous learning experiences. To insure that the student can profit from opportunities provided him, he must be presented with more than a choice of opportunities. For the student to receive an education which is personally meaningful, personal and environmental exploration, career and life style planning and decision-making must be given major emphasis throughout a student's elementary and secondary schooling.

Counselors should (a) devote a major share of their time and effort to facilitating the student's personal, cultural, and environmental exploration, career and life style planning and decision-making and building multiple choices within the curriculum, (b) be available in sufficient numbers to work with all students throughout elementary and secondary schools (one counselor to 50 students), (c) be made more readily available to *all* students. The roles of these counselors should be defined at the local level with *participation from the students to be served,* the employers, and the counselors. The primary concern of counselors should be the worth and the well-being of the students. Therefore, counselors should be free of clerical and administrative duties and should direct their major attention to working directly with and for students.

Implementation: A. *The Government* should provide support only for those school counseling programs in which counselors are solely involved in counseling and guidance activities.

B. *Institutions of Higher Education* must prepare counselors to work in areas defined by students to meet their various interests and needs.

C. *Secondary and elementary schools* must continually re-assess and evaluate their guidance programs to insure that counselors are available in sufficient numbers and responsive to the needs of the students.

D. *Business and the community* must regularly consult with students and counselors to insure that their educational programs are functioning within agreed upon guidelines.

Opportunities for Dropouts

4.4b The dropout has been told constantly by educators that his or her only solution to achieving success is by obtaining a high school diploma. However, the ability to think and perform various skills is not determined by the mere possession of a diploma. Many students are presently recognizing that schools are not meeting their needs and that learning occurs in places other than a formal classroom.

School systems must recognize dropouts as part of the normal student body population. They require alternative educational procedures which include such features as a flexible curriculum and extended counseling services. They also require that the schools recognize their different cultural and ethnic contributions.

Implementation: A. Dropouts should participate fully in all educational governance. Schools must recruit dropouts for all governing bodies.

B. The educational establishment must recognize the dropout as a member of the total educational system. Teachers and administrators, who expect students to achieve poorly, usually create an atmosphere that makes this self-fulfilling; consequently, if an atmosphere of high achievement is developed, students will usually do very well.

C. High schools and colleges must develop alternative criteria other than a diploma or a degree for admission to further education.

D. Employment requirements must be changed. Industry must not rely solely upon a diploma or credentials for determining employability. A dropout should have as equal an opportunity of access to all jobs as graduates. Hiring should be based solely on the individual's ability to perform the job.

Grades: Alternate Methods of Evaluating Students

4.4c The cry for a relevant education has echoed through every office and classroom. An important aspect of the issue is that learning may not be meaningful if grades become the focus of a learning experience. Too often students play grade "games" and do not learn; too often students develop failure identities and simply give up; too often youth do not discover learning—instead they learn a system.

Alternative methods of evaluating students must be explored. Relevancy in school curriculum as a whole must extend to the individual class. The student can follow his interests freely only when not dependent on the favor of a class leader. Performance criteria must be set and judged by both the student and the teacher.

Implementation: A. Every level of education should adopt a pass-fail or credit-no credit system for all courses except those in the student's major.

B. If local schools desire, a student should be able to earn "honors" recognition for extremely exceptional effort.

C. Written evaluations should be given to the student and his parents so that they may understand and assist him.

D. The teacher and student should confer periodically in mutual evaluations. This could be the most important and most productive factor in improved evaluation, and part of a system which stimulates increased learning.

Environmental Education Programs

4.4d The basic determinants of the quality of man's life are his total physical environment and his relationships to his fellow man.

A concerted effort should be made to enable man to develop a real and basic understanding of how he exists within his environment, and to become aware of the tremendous impact he has upon his world. Any educational system which is to be truly relevant to the people it serves must provide for integrated programs in the above areas.

In order to provide people with the understanding necessary to make intelligent decisions about their environment, educational institutions should implement an integrated program of environmental education. Such a program should include studies of man's physical environment, and of his effect upon the environment, both as a consumer of resources and as an agent with power to alter his environment, for better or for worse. Realizing that man is an integral part of his environment, curriculum designers should emphasize population studies, and the impact of over-population upon man and his earth.

Implementation: A. *Government* should recognize that quality of environment and quality of life are synonymous. It should continue to support, through Federal and state grants, programs to develop relevant systems of environmental education. Emphasis should be placed on funding teacher training programs as well as student oriented curricula.

B. *Institutions of Higher Education* should stress teacher training programs which develop qualified teachers in these areas.

C. *Primary and Secondary Schools* should realize the importance of environmental education and should integrate the concept of environment into the entire curriculum. Schools should be concerned with all aspects of the human environment and should recognize the effect of human sexuality upon peoples lives.

D. *Media* should cooperate in the development of environmental education programs. They should evaluate their current programming according to the guidelines outlined in the above recommendation.

Architecture

4.4e Traditional school surroundings tend to dehumanize students and hinder their ability to learn. Architectural surroundings of the schools should be safe and conducive to learning.

Implementation: Light, paint and carpeting should be provided to make the architectural surroundings of the schools more conducive to learning. The physical set up should be flexible and adaptable to various modes of learning and teaching.

Educational Technology

4.4f The future of education lies in the expanded use of instructional technology. This would allow for individualization of instruction and free the teacher to interact with each student.

We recommend that Congress adopt legislation that would authorize the development and implementation of instructional technology as a means of education. We further recommend that adequate funds be appropriated to insure the implementation of these programs on a nationwide basis.

With better distribution processes, more schools could have access to instructional technology materials and make their use more economical.

We urge the establishment of distribution centers for instructional technology software.

Implementation: Storage libraries should be established housing movies, video and audio tapes, multi-media exhibits, slides, etc. These must be easily accessible to all sections of the country.

Interfacing School and Community; Expand Use of Facilities

4.5 Presently college and high school resources are used on a limited 8-3, Monday-Friday, September-June basis. This limited utilization hinders individual as well as community achievement of educational goals. The increased use of these facilities would provide for the following: (a) needed adult education and retraining in academic and vocational areas so necessary in America's rapidly advancing technological society; (b) a community center where positive interaction would be possible for all community members, i.e., each school could become a community college, child care center, sport and civic center, etc., during hours not utilized by members of the conventional educational community; (c) interaction between diverse peoples to greatly enhance the entire experience of learning. Businessmen, housewives, laborers, and all other members of the community could facilitate the education of their young people.

The limited use of high school and college faculty and facilities must be expanded. Since education is a lifelong process, communities can utilize these resources for the total education of people in all walks of life. Therefore, it must be recognized that the school is an extension of the surrounding community and should involve all members of its society. These members are partially responsible and should participate in the education of their young people using the community school concept.

Implementation: A. Decentralization of administrative power concerning policy, curriculum, and administrative decisions must be transferred from the state level to the local level. Thus, the special needs of individual communities' environments could be met by increased community involvement; decisions would be made by parents, teachers, students, as well as school board members.

A year-round schedule should be developed for schools in which educational activities for interested persons are made available. Students should also be permitted to choose the terms in which they wish to study.

C. The community school concept must be seriously considered by all state and local school boards.

School as a Community Laboratory

4.5a Students can obtain more relevant education when the school is viewed as a laboratory within the community. Since 18-year olds now have a vote, it is important that schools and colleges offer training in how communities are organized and how political processes operate. Through this training, students will become knowledgeable about how institutions, including schools, are organized and function. Students will become better citizens of the community after graduation if they understand how institutions operate.

Each school and college should establish a course, the content of which would be the study of that school or college and its community. The school will act as a social laboratory for students to discover the dynamics and political processes at work.

Implementation: A. Local school districts should develop model courses along the lines of these recommendations. The courses should be organized in an independent study and seminar structure in which a student selects a community institution to study, becomes actively involved in it, and then returns to share experiences and observations in a seminar.

B. Local educational districts should provide in-service training for teachers who want to lead such seminars.

C. Business and industry should provide special teacher preparation courses for community-school laboratories.

D. Federal and state funds should be made available for model courses in each community.

Create Community Learning Centers

4.5b The American elementary and secondary education systems have traditionally favored students intent on pursuing higher education rather than providing for the true needs of the individual. This traditional system was fuctional at one time because societal and economic needs required a large labor force and a small educated class. Also, in pre-technological times the labor force served as an alternative to formal education, allowing people to learn on the job and grow into positions of greater responsibility.

Today, education is a requirement for entry into the labor force, yet our educational institutions have largely failed to recognize and adjust to this change. However, there are examples of our nation mobilizing its human resources to meet new needs. In the past these mobilizations have occurred in the face of external threat, real or imagined. The crisis today resides within, yet demands the same total response. Our defense establishment has been able to train every individual to his maximum capacity and need. We have supplied soldiers with literacy training, therapeutic and preventive health care, and job skills. We must do the same with all of our citizenry. If we undertake to meet these specific needs, not only will American society benefit, but it will also permit the individual to grow in stature and to strengthen his self-image. These individual human concerns are of utmost importance to us.

We recommend the establishment of a new type of community learning center, a center that would marshal the services and make available the cultural (including those of the barrio and ghetto), educational, and business and industry resources of the total community. The community learning centers would help any learner obtain the kind of relevant education that is required by that learner at that time. We conceive of these community learning centers providing education for the world of work, continuing academic studies or for personal development and fulfillment.

Implementation: A. Equality of education for all people does not mean that everyone should receive the same education.

B. Each student's educational program, at any time in his life, should be created to meet his individual needs. This necessitates creating more options than the present system provides, including utilization of non-school community resources.

C. Within a learning center credit should be granted for work experience, jobs and volunteer activities that contribute to career choices. Work experience provides a chance to become oriented toward several kinds of work, to gain employability and socialization skills, to assume responsibilities and specific job skills. In addition, it allows everyone of every age to make a contribution to society.

D. Work experience also enables students to take advantage of facilities and equipment already existing within a community, thus reducing, in many instances, the cost of education.

E. These work experiences can be an important component in community involvement. Employers have a stake in assuring that their workers are receiving a relevant education. Additionally, community involvement is assured because there is no terminal point in public education—everyone can go to school to get whatever he needs at any time in his life.

F. Such a learning center should take advantage of the innovative, operational and administrative efficiencies and advantages which the comprehensive application of technological systems can make possible. The future of education lies in the expanded use of instructional technology which not only allows for individualization of instruction, but frees the teacher to interact with each student.

G. Thus, educational media centers should be established which have community-wide responsibility for the planning, design, production and acquisition of teaching materials. These materials should be disseminated by a variety of delivery systems (radio and TV broadcasting films, cable TV, audio, video and film cassettes) and made available to learners. To achieve such a delivery system, the administration and Congress must provide additional funds.

H. Such a communications system, built as an integral part of these learning centers, could make the cultural and educational resources of the community available to support and strengthen existing educational institutions and training centers. These systems would also make teaching materials available to individuals or groups in the home, also the neighborhood.

I. Because the system is open to everyone at any time in his life, the learning centers should make a valuable extensive counseling service by trained professionals to help all community residents determine their life choices.

The success of the learning centers must be measured by their ability to prepare the student for the next step in his life, be it the next grade, another center, college, vocational school, or job. Accountability within the learning center requires that at each level of education someone must be personally responsible for others' success, the success of students is the responsibility of the teacher and the success of the teacher is the responsibility of the administrator. For everyone in the system, from the entering student to the highest administrative official, failure shows their performance must be reassessed and their possible forced exit from the system considered.

All those associated with the learning center would assume the dual roles of both teacher and student. Educational professionals would be expected to take regular leaves of absence for inservice training to observe innovations in learning occurring in other places.

The dignity of vocational skills would be enhanced by the learning center because all teachers would no longer need to be college educated. Plumbers, electricians and farmers could also teach, making their trades and crafts focal points of the formal educational system.

Learning centers would be financed in part through education monies, collected from whatever level and source and distributed to areas of the greatest need. The responsibility for meeting specific program needs of education would remain at the level closest to the people.

The learning centers would be in business to please their clients. It would be the responsibility of all those associated with the centers to be sure that the customers, the students, were pleased with the centers' product. The customers' dissatisfaction would indicate that the centers were unsuccessful and changes would need to be made.

Schools Must Be Humane

4.6 *The schools as they now exist are stifling, unyielding institutions with little flexibility or humaneness.*

The focus must always be on the student as a person rather than on the content of a subject. Thus, the concerns of each individual student, which arise out of his life within the community, must be the substance of education. A humane school offers students and teachers options which allow for alternatives styles of teaching and learning.

The school which the task force envisions is a total learning community in which students, parents, faculty, administrators, interns, paraprofessionals and the outside community are involved in the real decision-making process. For participation to have any meaning, decisions about the curriculum and the educational process must be decentralized to the local school.

Teacher Education

4.6a Teachers need to be prepared to teach in this kind of school. (1) *Training of all school staff must be centered on student learning. Therefore, teacher training must be removed from the teacher training institution to the actual school location.* The real life situation of the school is the best site for training prospective teachers.

(2) School and university personnel must unite in a collaborative effort to prepare teachers. The goal should be to better integrate practice and theory in the training of teachers.*

(3) Effective teaching requires self-understanding and sensitivity to desires and feelings of students. The implications of dealing humanely with students point to a need for the teacher to have knowledge and understanding of minority and youth cultures. The teacher must be involved continuously in a sensitivity training process designed to increase his understanding of himself and others in their school relationships. The goal of this suggestion is to open up effective and honest communication among all those within the school community, thus, increasing mutual trust.

(4) In recognition of individual differences and needs, teacher preparation must offer alternative sites and activities for learning, thus, allowing for self-selection among prospective teachers.

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* See end of Section 4.6a for proposed model to accomplish this idea.

(5) Certification should be based on competencies demonstrated with children. These competencies should be jointly defined by the schools and the teacher training faculty.

(6) Teachers must become facilitators of learning. They should be prepared to assume roles as resource managers and leaders of paraprofessionals and community volunteers who assist in programs of individualized instruction. Their professional training should include experiences in learning similar to those they are expected to provide for pupils; thus, they should be taught as they are expected to teach.

(7) The teacher needs to be educated to be the kind of person that society expects. Throughout the teacher's professional career, he should have a broad, liberal education, exposing him to many areas of interrelated knowledge, including economics, political science, psychology, sociology and philosophy. This knowledge should be integrated to promote self understanding of the teacher in the society in which he exists.

(8) We must recognize that certain competencies in effective classroom teaching are not guaranteed by a college degre. There is a need to open up the entry way by which people are certified to teach. In the school teacher-training site, envisioned by the Task Force, means other than the college classroom will be offered for a person to acquire the competencies to teach.

(9) A component of teacher education must include an understanding of educational decision-making and politics so that teachers, concerned with change in their schools, will have the knowledge and skills to effect change.

(10) Special training components must provide for competencies needed in cross-cultural and minority teaching/learning situations. Sensitivity to and knowledge of minority students and their culture must be translated through training into effective teaching skills which enable the student to learn.

(11) Teacher training institutions should move rapidly to employ in the full range of positions, faculty and administrators from racial minorities.

(12) There are many areas of educational concern for which we are lacking objective information to make final judgments. Yet, we need to move forward toward innovation if schools are to fulfill this mandate. We need action research in the area of student output and highly refined devices of evaluation of that output. Therefore, we need increased research in the measurement of student output and the reasons for that output.

(13) Guidance in the schools must be humanized and modernized. The guidance counselor must organize his service around the student as a person in such a way as to provide assistance appropriate to the needs of each student. In order to provide the guidance counselor with time, we recommend the use of modern information retrieval systems available directly to the student to provide facts on career options and training.

We recommend the same model of training for counselors; centered on student need/preference, on site in the school, and including a sensitivity component.

(14) School administrators must have and use power to effect change in their individual schools. We recommend cooperative on site school/university training which is also performance-based for middle level administrators.

Implementation. Implementation of these recommendations should follow the plans outlined below:

A. State departments of education should substitute approval of college/school programs for the present approach of central state requirements.

B. State departments of education must join the reciprocity agreement of the National Council for Accreditation in Teacher Education.

C. Federal funding of programs within the Bureau of Education Personnel Development, such as Teacher Corps, Urban/Rural, etc., which embody the principles in these resolutions, should be increased. These relevant programs, which hold great promise for effecting change in schools, are constantly underfunded. It is time to change national priorities in the direction of education.

D. Institutions of higher education—universities, colleges and junior colleges—should establish learning-teaching effectiveness centers to provide for the renewal and up-grading of professional instructional faculty.

Specifically, the Task Force envisions a series of schools in which a team of people from college and high school improve learning and train in-service and prospective teachers. The team would include school administrators, master teachers, in-service teachers, education faculty members based in the building, teacher aides, both from the college and the community, and teacher trainees who have completed their general studies at the college.

The aim of this model is to markedly improve the performance of a school in a short period of time and at the same time to provide pre-service training for teacher trainees as well as in-service training for veteran teachers.

Basic to the model is the position of "master teacher".

This position should be filled by men and women of proven competence in the classroom who have a desire to work closely and sympathetically with neophyte teachers. Each trainee would receive progressively greater responsibility for managing a class as his ability increases.

Revamp Tenure Systems

4.6b A sensitive area of decision-making is that of promoting teachers and administrators to tenure on both the secondary and college level. The present system protects poor teachers and administrators and provides little stimulus for updating of skills and knowledge. The present system puts the burden of success solely on students and not on the ability of the teacher or administrator.

The teacher and administrator tenure system should be revamped. Since good teaching should be the criterion for tenure, teaching quality should be assessed on the basis of evaluations by students, colleagues who have observed the teacher, administrators, and the teacher himself. Teachers entering a system should be given the option of a one year contract or a limited tenure period. Renewal of contract should be based on cumulative evaluations.

Implementation: A. Students should be provided the opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of their teachers and administrators at least once a year. Evaluation from students along with evaluations from colleagues, administrators, community members and the teacher, himself, should be the basis for renewal of contract.

B. Each school should establish a personnel committee composed of representatives from the student body, administration, faculty, and community to review the evaluations of each teacher and administrator and to make decisions concerning renewing or discontinuing a contract.

C. Teachers and administrators should be hired for a maximum period of three years with renewal based on cumulative evaluations. The personnel committee of each school should make the decision to renew or withdraw a contract.

D. Teachers and administrators entering a school district should have two basic options: (a) one year contract. If the local school personnel committee, based on positive evaluations, renews a contract, a substantial pay increase should be provided; (b) three year contract. Nominal pay increases should be provided for the three-year period. Renewal of contract after three years should be based on favorable cumulative evaluations. At time of renewal a substantial pay increase should be provided.

The Exceptional Student

4.7 The primary goal of education should be self-actualization of the individuals served, not preparation of individuals to fit existing social slots which are determined mainly by economic considerations. *Exceptional students are those who differ from the norm. This group includes the physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped, the learning disabled, as well as the gifted.* Exceptional students have remained on the periphery of the educational system. This is not acceptable. It must be recognized that exceptional students need to learn how best to develop their individual interests and aptitudes.

Early Development of Interests

4.7a Early detection of exceptional children may eliminate the possibility of further compounding the problem. Moreover, gifted children must be recognized so that their abilities may be cultivated before they are buried beneath years of boredom.

Exceptional children must be given the earliest opportunity to develop their individual interests and aptitudes.

Implementation: Multidisciplinary teams trained in the area of handicapped and gifted children should be used to identify exceptional students.

Integrate into Regular School Life

4.7b Integration of exceptional students benefits the exceptional as well as normal students. It is through integration that the special student can be educated intellectually and socially.

Schools should reduce as much as possible the programs which isolate exceptional students and make a maximum effort to integrate them into the regular life of schools, colleges and communities. A corollary to integration is the individualization of education programs.

Implementation: A. *In the case of the physically handicapped,* architectural barriers must be removed and ramps and other facilities built in the proper proportions for those in wheelchairs.

B. *In the case of the gifted,* special programs should be designed to stimulate interest and develop talents.

C. *In the case of the mentally retarded, the emotionally disturbed and the learning disabled,* individual programs must be developmental in nature. The programs should affirm what the student is already capable of and build from there. It is important that these students be given a feeling of self-worth. Most are already painfully aware that they cannot perform in normal ways.

Public Understanding

4.7c Ignorance stops learning. That is, the ignorance of the problems and needs of students stops their learning and the most neglected of students are exceptional students.

The total community needs to be trained and educated so that they can work with the exceptional student easily and naturally. They should learn how to help these students graciously and without mutual embarrassment.

Implementation: A. A television program, dedicated to promoting and understanding the exceptional students must be produced on a major network during prime time. Such a program need not be a "lesson one, step one" procedure. Rather, methods in dealing with and relative to exceptional students can be incorporated in a family, story-type program.

B. Brochures which are easy to understand and easy to apply to daily life must be distributed.

C. Classes taught by the exceptional or in which the exceptional work closely with the regular teacher should be offered.

D. The news media must cover stories on new programs designed for exceptional students. Groups organizing these programs must make an effort to alert the media to these programs.

Research

4.7d It is believed that research, a basic principle by which complex problems can be brought to light and solved, must be fully funded on a national scale.

Research centers should be continued and studies to delve deeper into more specific areas concerning not only the pathological, but the social problems facing exceptional students, should be initiated.

Implementation: Research of causes, treatment and prevention of handicapping conditions must be expanded through Federal funding.

Fund and Implement Programs

4.7e Many states have realized their obligation to educate all of the communities' students, and have passed legislation requiring school districts to create special classes for the mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, learning disabled and gifted. Unfortunately, systems have either established makeshift programs saddling one teacher to handle all the exceptional students in a self-contained class, or else they have failed to create any program due to lack of funds.

The legislation that now exists requiring school systems to establish programs for exceptional students should in fact be carried out and funded. Community programs should be reviewed by state and local officials, and the school system should be provided with guidelines for setting up special programs.

Implementation: State and local officials in charge of special education should be responsible for coordinating and advising school systems in the establishment and continuance of special education programs. Coordination should include interagency matters.

Establish Advocacy Programs

4.7f The rights of children and youth have long been overlooked, especially in the case of the exceptional student. Services and help may never be delivered, or delivered only in part or inefficiently.

Each state must have a mechanism to act as an advocate for the needs of all students, especially the exceptional student. This office would locate and coordinate all the various institutions and services that may help the student and insure that his needs and rights are respected. It would also direct citizen concerns about service inadequacy to appropriate channels of correction and develop suitable channels if none exist. This office should not be responsible to any single agency. It might be supported by any state or Federal fund.

Implementation: Such an office should have as its advisory board a legislator, a state official on education, persons representing service agencies and a student representative. It would be the responsibility of this office to inform the public about available services and to promote understanding about the problems and needs of children and youth.

Special Education Neglected

4.7g *The funding of special education programs has been inadequate. An entire segment of society has been neglected.* Money is needed for research and for the programs proposed by this task force so that the exceptional student can become a contributing member of society.

Innovative programs created to meet the full range of the special needs of exceptional students must be funded. Exceptional students include the physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped, and the learning disabled, as well as the gifted.

Implementation: A. Financial aid to schools for the purpose of providing for the architectural needs of special students or for removing architectural barriers which impede the special students is deemed necessary.

B. Aid must be made available for the purchase of special equipment such as braille typewriters, tape recorders and supplementary materials for the learning disabled and the gifted. Additionally, aid should be provided to students for the purchase of cosmetics and prosthetic devices.

C. Continued support is needed for vocational education programs which must also be age-appropriate.

D. Further, funds must be made available to research and develop programs which can be modified to meet the individual needs of the special students.

International Education: Financing Foreign Students

4.8 The international student faces two major dilemmas:

1. financial
2. counseling and advising

In California for example foreign student fees have jumped 200 percent in one year. Counseling and advising has not improved. At the present rates of exchange, it is difficult enough for the international student to pay the existing fees but when fees jump as in California, $8.00 per unit the first semester, $20.00 per unit the next semester, and $37.00 per unit the semester after, it becomes impossible for some students to continue to attend.

The international student becomes disillusioned with the sincerity of this nation. He may abandon his studies, he will often find ways to remain in this country as he has too much pride to return as a failure to his country.

As the international student is, (a) a youth, (b) within this society, (c) within the educational system, (d) has problems, we propose that:

(1) the Federal Government look into methods of aiding international students perhaps through international aid, (2) private foundations and international companies consider aiding international students, (3) a system of international student advisors to be composed of persons who are knowledgeable in specific needs of the foreign student be set up.

The international student has almost no representation in this country except for accidental incidents such as this conference. Therefore, we urge you not to take this lightly.

Education in American Samoa

4.8a We resolve that the American government review the education program in American Samoa with a view to making it more relevant to the native American Samoans.

Minority Reports; Abolish Grades

4.9 Working under pressure or fear of grades is not conducive for the learning process. Grades are a comparison between one child and another. This process interferes with a child's individual dignity. *All grades should be abolished, A,B,C,D, or pass/fail. In its place student, teacher and parent should be involved in in-depth personal evaluation of a student's progress.*

Implementation: With written evaluations, teachers will come to recognize the student's potential as an individual. Parents should be informed of the positions taken by schools concerning the evaluation process and should take an active part in the evaluation of their child's progress.

National Policy on Education

4.10 Historically, America has placed blind faith in education. Our educational system has partially at least served us well.

There is mounting evidence, however, that public confidence in education is eroding and that the whole system should undergo a thorough review.

The greatest deficiency in American education is the absence of a clear cut organizing principle, a conceptually simple reason for being. The time has come to correct this debilitating deficiency.

The Task Force on Education for the White House Conference on Youth, therefore, proposes the following which should serve as philosophic guidelines for educational leadership in the 1970's and beyond. Educational leadership and educators should be held accountable for implementing this policy.

(1) Our ultimate concern is with the human spirit and human minds and not schools. In short we should concern ourselves with human fulfillment. Schools are not ends within themselves but rather vehicles through which "the young and old unite in the imaginative consideration of learning."

(2) Within the realm of potential of every human being there is a level of awareness and achievement which can make life rewarding. Most people want desperately to find that level.

(3) It is the responsibility of educational leadership to devise programs which reach out to the student and engage him in a process which is both interesting and fair and will, thus, lead to a level of awareness and achievement which gives him a positive perception of himself and his relationship to others.

(4) Any subject can be taught in an intellectually honest and interesting way by the competent, imaginative teacher who cares, given the necessary resources.

Within this broad policy framework, we further propose that educational institutions at all levels in America involve the student in an experience which will:

(1) Free his intellect from ignorance and make of it a critical but constructive instrument. This can be done by developing in him an understanding of "what has been," a grasp of "what is," and then asking him to rely on his own resources to state "what ought to be."

(2) Confront him with moral, ethical and spiritual conflicts of his culture and force him to devise a system of values which is both personal and internalized.

(3) Introduce him to the many and varied opportunities for rewarding work and help him develop a marketable skill growing out of a vocational competence.

(4) Develop in him the capacity to express himself creatively through arts, sports or some other recreational or avocational interest.

The mutual interaction of these four qualities would result in what Woodrow Wilson called "the wholly awakened man." This individual would be a genuinely free, responsible and responsive human being capable of creating and maintaining a just, enlightened and humane society — and that, after all, is the issue at stake. Thinking people who care, with a social conscience and a marketable skill — a powerful combination.

Analysis of Future Education; An International Perspective

4.11 In order to construct the educational background for 21st century societies, it is necessary to undergo an analysis of the fundamental principles and assumptions that lie behind and support the content of the educational structures and relate them to changes, new scopes and directions of the nation and the world as a whole from both the sociological point of view and the individualistic point of view. This report deals with the former point of view.

The world, as it is today, claims desperately for a global convention, an international agreement of what such basic principles and assumptions are. And, it claims to relate them intimately with the preconditions for world development, coexistence and even survival within a society that offers the possibility of fulfillment of individual life and social stability based upon justice, freedom, peace and a harmonic relationship with nature.

A new perspective governing international affairs is needed. It is clear that the present multinational model, as it tends to perpetuate the intrinsic conflicts of interests between nations, without a strong international regulatory body, in the long run will fail to solve problems such as wars, nuclear devastation, poverty, etc.

All this reflects on the educational system which works on the assumptions of national interest and national sovereignty. The next generation needs a new set of principles. It needs to be aware of humanity as a whole much more than our actual conception of humanity, i.e., as a set of nations in constant chaotic conflict. It needs sociological concepts to help cope with growing problems. Traditional concepts such as nationalism won't work. To prepare the next generation to meet the future is to develop in the direction of a world awareness, of a uniqueness of the "world village". If the world is to continue to misfunction under its present international structure with the inertia of a tradition of nationalism as main motor, then the costs will go beyond the possibility of control. And all this will relate very closely to education.

It is not enough, by any means, to center our attention on the internal educational system of this nation. It is not enough to implement these systems by using a closed set of ideas that are contained by the limits of national systems of educations.

Assumptions which are implicit in the content of an education that was conceived before our modern scientific and technological advances began not only strongly conditioning the directions of society but demanding absolute disassociation with the past. need no longer be valid. As a matter of fact, these assumptions can bury civilization, humanity or life itself, because, in our times we have the constant threat of nuclear war, a disproportionate arms race, overpopulation, etc. *The only way to abolish permanently the threat of nuclear war is to create an international structure that will constitutionalize an international law for nations which will prevent by whatever means is needed nations from having nuclear weapons, starting wars, etc. This means some amount of national sovereignty must be sacrificed.* But it also means that the principle that the interests of humanity are more important than the interests of a particular nation must be accepted. It also means international justice and not the arbitrary imposition of a stronger nation upon a weaker nation. It implies world government, no more arms races or global pacification. But it also implies the possibility of the cementation of totalitarianism.

Now, the point is, are the people prepared to deal with such ideas and attitudes, which are simply the final generalization of a legal structure of rights and obligations within the same process that began in making states out of cities and nations out of states?

Will the principles involved in international affairs give the future generations the tools to work out a society that will keep up the problems, innovations in science and technology and at the same time be a healthy society? The answer is no. And if those principles are not changed for modern ones, there is no sense of discussing education as a structure or the individualist approach to education.

What sense does it make to educate the young to love freedom and respect different ideas and ways of life, to work hard for social justice, if suddenly they will be involved in a war or a crisis provoked either by a quest for power or for economic hegemony or, tragically enough, because of a very distorted view of the world and the role of their nation in it?

What sense does it make to learn science, if it is going to be applied in the systematic killing and repression of the people of the world?

What sense does it make to develop a skill that will fulfill one's life, if one day a nuclear war gets started and we all end losers, but no one left to state it?

What sense does it make to educate paranoid people?

It is necessary to move *forward and move fast. The intensity of* political paranoia on both sides of the superpowers, with its consequent black and white pictures of nations, peoples and philosophies of life, paranoia that breeds militarism no matter how democratic or socialistic a country can be; the tremendous strain and tension that the danger of total destruction generates, and the practically impossible problems the world we will be confronting by the end of this century require our rapid action. All this should make evident that if we do not educate the next generation of this nation and the world to learn to live together and cooperate together in the solution of the great problems, overcoming the prejudices that have made this and the past generations fail so badly, breaking the barriers of selfish interests, stupidity, fanaticism, ignorance and hate, then, the probability of any future at all will be very low. And if by chance we don't annihilate each other in the next decades, the perspective of such a future will be gray.

It is then, under this spirit, that the following *recommendations* are made:

(1) People should be educated to be free, to live harmoniously in a society where they can fulfill their potentialities, to respect the rights of others on a basis of justice, peace and love.

(2) The next generation needs to be educated with an intense, realistic awareness of the situation of the world, and to where this world is heading. It should be prepared in the educational process to accept a more broad and functional definition of humanity other than a conglomerate of nations in a permanent display of conflict of interests, wars and chaos. It should be made aware and be prepared to solve the problems of the world as a whole, with a sense of commitment and a willingness in cooperating, in establishing as the highest priority the interests of humanity and in abolishing as highest priority the interests of any particular nation or sector. *Conceptions of a society based in world terms*

should be fomented by the educational process. People should be educated to coexist in a diverse world; to respect the different cultures and peoples and, at the same time, identify with them as forming part of the same humanity; to see clearly that to help primarily the world develop is to help themselves, regardless of their local interests.

(3) Governments and media should stop the systematic propagandistic education, information and entertainment, dealing with nations and peoples with different ways of life. These distort reality, create fanaticism and fantasies, undermine the mentality and values of a free country, and induce totalitarianism.

(4) The education of the people should be in consonance with the main stream of principles and assumptions, upon which the actions of the different branches of government are based and justified. In the long run, it is not possible to educate people to believe in the things which are opposite to those their governments believe, to behave contrary to their conscience on behalf of the demands of their social system. Governments should stop killing in the name of anything, to exploit in the name of development, to be corrupt and impose themselves in the name of national security. People should be educated to detest wars, not to glorify them; and to detest exploitation, not to perpetuate it by accepting it.

Nothing is so urgent as to create in the minds of the common citizens of nations the awareness of their citizenship of the world. Otherwise, Vietnams will continue, wars will pass and go, world problems will increase in frequency, variety and intensity, and national pride will become a gross tragic joke.

Implementation: A. All school systems in the U.S.A. should take steps to delete any part of their educational material which propagates the attitude that this nation has a moral superiority to other peoples of the world. This would mean revising textbooks which imply a manifest destiny for the people of the U.S., which imply an inferiority of the history and culture of American minorities, and the people of the world. State and national governments should provide funds for the revision of these textbooks. Funding incentives from all levels of government should be implemented for schools willing to begin using revised training programs.

B. Universities should immediately begin to train teachers to approach education from a world understanding point of view. Funding incentives should be provided for universities willing to undertake such programs.

C. A screening process should be implemented at the teacher training level which would screen out potential teachers who cannot accept educating from such a prospective.

D. Foreign exchange programs should be expanded at all levels of education.

E. The U.S. government is instructed by this task force, after a sufficient level of awareness is reached by the U.S. population, to present to the United Nations General Assembly a concept of world government in which national sovereignties forego the power to make war and cooperate in economic and cultural terms under the authority of a representative world government. That level of awareness should be reached through a public relations program supported by the U.S. government. It will be sufficient awareness when the Harris and Gallup polls indicate that at least fifty percent of the U.S. population supports such a move.

Joint Resolution for Conference Every Four Years

4.12 Whereas the express purpose of the White House Conference on Youth is to offer a platform for the presentation of youth's viewpoints on problems confronting America and their possible solutions to those in power; and

Whereas a conference held each decade does not encounter the many generation and attitudinal changes of American society within that ten year period; and

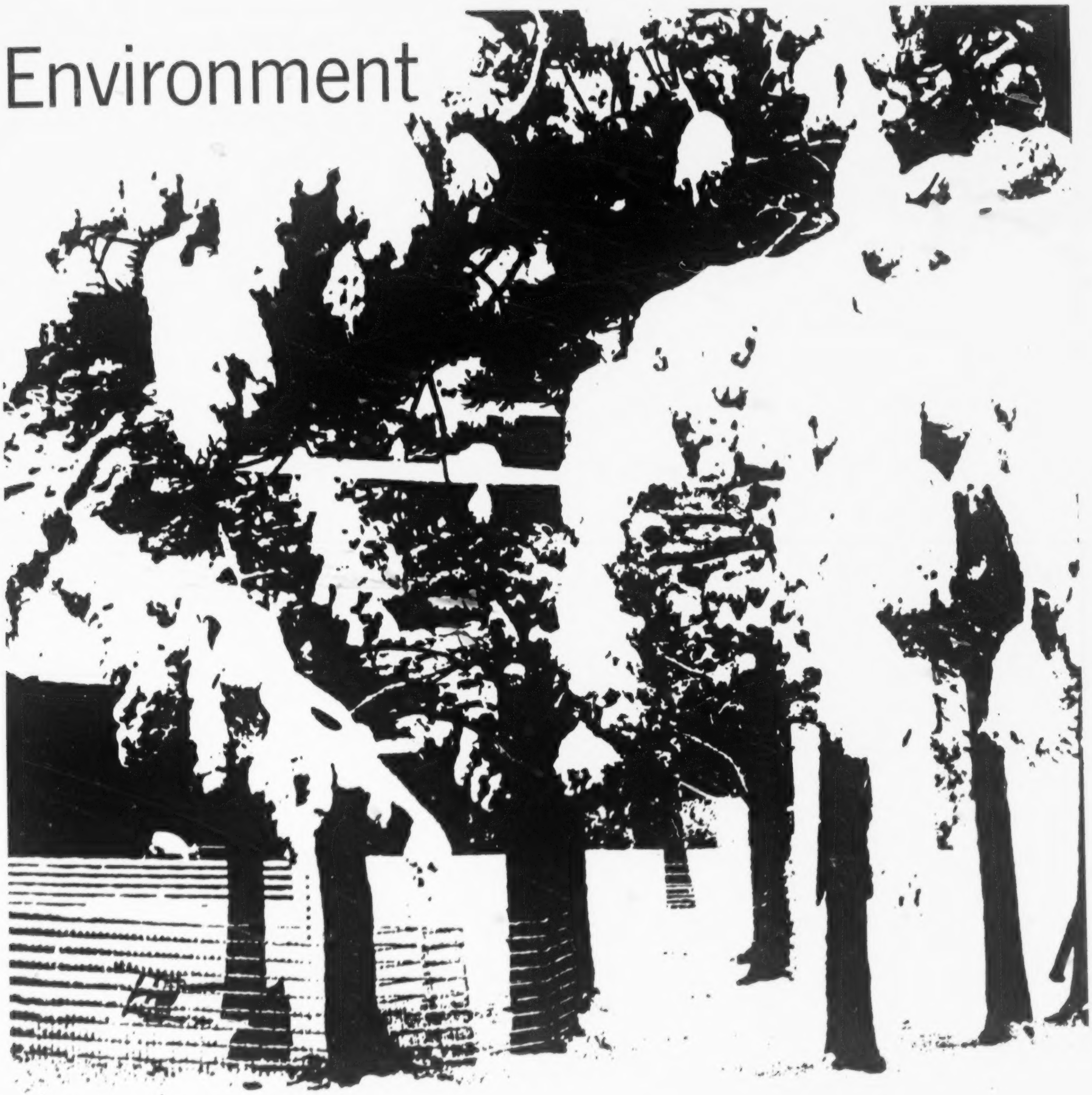
Whereas the nation's educational institutions also produce several generations of different composition and attitudes within a decade, whose needs are not met or considered by a conference held every ten years; and

Whereas the governmental administrations of that ten year period need a continuous flow of relevant and futuristic ideas, which a conference held every four years would provide, to be effective in meeting the needs of the people, especially those of youth:

Be it resolved, By the 1971 White House Conference on Youth that the White House administrations, both the present and those of the future, establish, finance, and administer a national conference on youth in the middle of each presidential term.

[*Joint resolution by Task Forces on Education, and Legal Rights and Justice.*]

Environment



The following recommendations were initiated in workshop groups and passed formally in open session by the full Task Force plenum.

Preamble

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is within the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed."
— UNESCO Charter.

We, the youth of America, have known before and have learned again at this conference, that an issue-oriented approach to the problems of this nation and of the world is not only ineffective, but also concedes the basis of the problems to their effects instead of their causes.

These problems all emerge from a mentality that continues today — a mentality and culture which not only condone war but also support the mechanisms of destruction; which not only fail to protect the natural environment but also create an urban environment that traps the poor of all colors, enforces the arrogance of our racism, and is nothing less than total insult to the spirit of man.

The ideas expressed in the resolutions that follow — both from the Environment Task Force and all others — too often confront merely the manifestations of this outdated mentality.

Population and Consumption

5.1 Inasmuch as the available resources of the earth are limited, the basic problem is the survival of life, including man, in a world in which life is worth living. The demand for resources is proportional both to population and per capita consumption. Therefore, *we recommend* the following:

(1) *That world population be stabilized substantially below the current level.*

(2) That regarding consumption:

(A) The use of the world's resources should be shared equally among all people.

(B) A steady-state economy in which the production of durable goods is constant should be achieved.

(C) As many of our cycles of production and consumption as possible should be closed through recycling and reuse.

Inner City Environment

5.2 Although environmental degradation has become recognized in recent years as a major social crisis, the public focus on this issue has usually been directed towards problems that are important to middle-class Americans. The issues of urban transportation, slum housing, inadequate health care, recreation and education, and unemployment are vital to urban poor people, but have not been properly understood in an environmental context or dealt with from an ecological perspective. In the inner city areas of urban America, the environment has become increasingly unliveable. It is an undisputed fact that this environment is genetically the most hazardous to human health and survival and presents few opportunities for improvement to those who must live in it. The quality of life in the inner city is degraded by disproportionate concentrations of pollutants, overcongestion, dilapidated housing, and insufficient recreation facilities. Social services are totally inadequate, and public attention has not been focused on the needs of the people.

The Environment Task Force hereby proposes that national priority be given to the actions necessary to improve the quality of the environment of the people of America's inner cities.

We propose the following specifics for developing this priority:

(1) *Citizen participation.* All levels of government should include grass roots participation (allowing for increasing involvement by citizens) by adopting new guidelines and/or enforcing existing ones, which require community participation in both planning and implementation.

(2) *Citizens' right of action.* It is a fact that many of our problems are associated with a failure on the part of government institutions and the public in general to enforce existing laws and regulations. All existing laws and regulations must be enforced, and citizens must be guaranteed the right to pursue this enforcement in a court of law.

(3) *Pollution.* All governmental and private activities must include consideration of the impact of pollutants and other environmental degradants in urban areas on man's health and well-being.

(4) *Alternatives to the automobile-based transportation system.* Support must be given for urban mass transit systems in the inner city. We urge the abolition of the Highway Trust Fund and its replacement by a Transportation Trust Fund.

(5) *Open spaces and recreation.* Urban open spaces and park areas must be expanded to meet the greatly increased recreation and community needs of the inner city.

(6) *Housing.* We urge that immediate action be taken by Federal, state and local government to provide decent housing for all persons living in the urban core areas of the nation's cities.

Legal Rights and Responsibilities; Citizen Suits

5.3 We believe that every citizen of the United States has not only the fundamental right to a decent and healthful environment, but also the duty to contribute to its protection. In furtherance of this belief, *each citizen should have equal access to the judicial tribunals to secure and enforce these rights.*

Therefore, we recommend the passage of S. 1032 as submitted by Senators Philip Hart and George McGovern in the Senate and by Representatives Morris Udall and John Dingell in the House. We urge the passage of this legislation as amended by the incorporation of the following provisions:

(A) Where the term "unreasonable" pollution is used, "unreasonable" should be stricken (Sec. 2.(a), (Sec. 2.(b), (Sec. 3.(a), and (Sec. 4.(a).

(B) Filing of complaints in more locations and public notice of suits initiated should be required.

Environmental Impact Statement

5.3a We endorse the concept of expanding the requirements of Section 102 (2)c of the National Environmental Policy Act to be administered by an appropriate Federal agency with the discretionary power to require an environmental impact statement, supported by scientific study and facts, from any member of the public or private sector, if in the appropriate agencies' opinion, the process, product or project is major and will significantly affect the quality of the human environment. Appropriate penalties will be imposed for a legal finding that the environmental statement was made knowingly false.

Economic Incentives to Reduce Pollution

5.3b *We endorse in principle, the use of economic incentives, including effluent taxes, in conjunction with regulatory standards, to reduce the level of pollution, and as a means of allocating the assimilation capacity of the nation's air and water.* We further urge that the Council on Environmental Quality and the Environmental Protection Agency prepare and submit appropriate legislation consistent with this recommendation and including application of Federal money and taxes to find cures for the causes of effluents.

Ability of Tax-exempt Organizations to Influence Legislation

5.3c We recommend that the Internal Revenue Code be amended, as it affects groups classified as 501 (c)(3) tax-exempt organizations, to remove all present restraints with respect to influencing legislation.

National Environmental Corps: A Bill

5.3d *We recommend establishment of a National Environmental Corps and support the introduction into Congress of the attached draft legislation, but with the unanimous proviso that the Corps should be administered only by the Environmental Protection Agency. If the National Environmental Corps is to be made a component of the proposed Voluntary Service Organization, then it should be rejected.*

National Environmental Corps—a Bill

To establish a National Environmental Corps, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1. Short Title. This act may be cited as the "National Environmental Corps Act."

Section 2. Policy and Purposes.

(A) The Congress finds that there is an urgent need for:

1. Skilled and professional manpower for constructive environmental action programs, monitoring and data collection, and research throughout the nation;

2. Opportunities for the young people of this nation interested in helping to solve environmental and sociological problems in the United States;

3. Provision of relatively uniform direction of information resources for environmental programs in local communities and coordination of those programs at the Federal, state and local levels;

4. An educational grant, an aid assistance program of fellowships and loans to support environmental education and specialized technical training in environmental skills.

(B) It is declared to be a part of the public policy of the United States:

1. To allow young people to participate in the decisions which determine what kind of future they are to have;

2. To allow them to contribute their talents and energies to both practical and theoretical environmental action.

(C) Accordingly, it is the purpose of this Act to further the development and maintenance of the natural resources and of the quality of the environment of the United States by the youth upon whom will fall the grim consequences of a failure to act.

Section 3. National Environmental Service Corps

(A) To carry out the purposes of this Act, there is hereby established a National Environmental Corps (hereinafter referred to as the "Corps").

(B) The Corps shall consist of men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, its territories, or possessions, and who have attained age eighteen and such professional staff as may be appointed as herein after provided.

(C) Corpsmen shall be selected for their potential contribution to environmental service, regardless of previous technical training or attained educational level; provided however, that preference shall be given to disadvantaged youth.

(D) Corpsmen shall serve for two years after completion of training.

(E) The Corps, in order to achieve the greatest national good with respect to environmental action programs, shall be a component of and administered by the Environmental Protection Agency.

(F) The Youth Conservation Corps pilot program established pursuant to P.L. 91-378 shall be transferred to the Corps and youth appointed under that program shall be "Summer Corpsmen".

(G) The President, with the advice and consent of the Congress is authorized to appoint a Director of the National Environmental Corps (hereinafter the "Director") and such staff as may be necessary to implement the purposes of this act.

Section 4. Training

(A) The training of Corpsmen in the National Environmental Corps shall consist of at least a two month residential program for all participants.

(B) Corpsmen shall receive training according to their prior training and skills, personal preferences, and local needs.

(C) Training shall be planned by an advisory committee of whose members thirty percent shall be youth aged eighteen to twenty-four.

(D) Employment preference for training personnel shall be given to secondary and university teachers and administrators and persons pursuing studies in environmental education, natural resources and environmental or ecological science.

Section 5. Employment Conditions and Compensation

(A) The rates and hours and other conditions of employment in the corps shall be as determined by the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency; provided however, that volunteers in the Corps shall receive a subsistence income and allowances for dependents.

(B) Corpsmen willing to contract for additional service beyond the usual placement term may qualify for Federal educational assistance for advanced education.

Section 6. Definitions — As used in this Act:

"Corps" means the National Environmental Corps.

"Corpsmen" means a volunteer serving in the National Environmental Corps.

"Summer Corpsmen" means a young person serving in the pilot program established pursuant to the Youth Conservation Corps (P.L. 91-378).

"Director" means the Director of the National Environmental Corps.

Section 7. Responsibilities and Activities of Corpsmen

(A) Community Action
  1. To provide manpower, other resources and opportunities for constructive involvement of the young people in local communities;

  2. To work with residents to organize educational programs and media coverage relating to the environment;

  3. To initiate coordination of planning, operation and evaluation of all programs by social services and private agencies in the community relating to environment;

  4. To help groups of community residents to organize themselves and to share experiences across neighborhoods;

  5. To organize community debates on major legislative or executive programs that affect the environment of the community;

(B) Technical and Skilled Manpower
  1. To provide staff assistance for research and to maintain accurate current data;

  2. To provide technical input which would facilitate community action;

  3. To establish metropolitan and state Youth Advisory Committees on the Environment to serve as consultants on policy alternatives and implementation for these governments;

(C) Professional and Scientific Capability
  1. To provide a professional assistance program that would be involved in full time laboratory environmental monitoring investigation, research with the Environmental Protection

Agency, other scientifically oriented agencies, and any agency that is involved in environmental policy;

Section 8. Youth Advisory Councils and Committees

(A) The President is authorized, without regard to the civil service laws, from time to time, to appoint such advisory councils and committees of youth and adults as may be necessary to advise and consult with the Director.

(B) Members of such advisory councils or committees who are not regular fulltime employees of the United States shall, while attending meetings or conferences of such council or committee or otherwise engaged on business of such council or committee, be entitled to receive compensation at a rate fixed by the Director, but not exceeding $100 per diem, including travel time, and while so serving away from their home or regular place of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73 b-2) for persons in the government services employed intermittently.

Section 9. Appropriations Authorized

(A) For the purpose of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $25,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and the three succeeding fiscal years and annual appropriation.

Population Stabilization

5.4 Since the developed nations of the world with one-fifth of the world's population consume more than three-fourths of the world's resources, and since the United States is by far the leading consumer among these nations, *the Task Force urges that the United States take an exemplary leadership role in effecting measurable steps towards population stabilization and eventual reduction.*

Family Planning

5.4a The Task Force recommends that family planning techniques be provided on an ability to pay basis to all persons on demand regardless of age or marital status, and that restrictive state legislation be removed. Further, the Task Force recommends that further research to develop improved methods of contraception be funded through the National Institutes of Health.

Abortion

5.4b It is acknowledged that the decision to terminate pregnancy rests solely between a woman and her doctor. It is therefore recommended that restrictive state abortion laws be repealed and that abortion services be available to all women on demand and on an ability to pay basis.

Sex Education

5.4c It is recognized, however, that abortion is only a stopgap measure. To fill this gap, a major nationwide sex education program is urged. To this end we recommend the removal of current restrictive sex education laws on a state level. The educational thrust should not be solely confined to reproductive physiology, but should revolve around family life and the inculcation of moral responsibility as it relates to the future consequences of population growth and control, and family planning.

The following statement is taken from the Task Force Advisory

Report as an endorsement of the recommendation on population education.

Every nine seconds a new American is born. More than 150 years after Thomas Malthus' predictions, these babies are born into a world which is approaching his forecast that the geometric growth of the earth's population will someday surpass the capacity of the planet to support its population. The population of undeveloped and modernized countries of the world continues to expand at increasingly rapid rates. Many nations will quadruple in population during the lifetimes of children born today. It is clear that it will be impossible to increase food production enough to cope with continued population growth. Malthus' warning is reflected in Rachel Carson's writings and extended by Garrett Hardin:

> The world can no longer ignore what has been called the 'ecological ethic.' The ethical system under which we operated in the past was possibly adequate for an uncrowded world, though even this is debatable. But it is inadequate for a world that is already overcrowded.

Of course arguments ensue about how much 'blame' for the abuse of the environment can be assigned to an overload of people and how much to failure of technology and of social engineering. It is a fact that there are more and more people using the finite resources of the earth. Furthermore,

> The casual chain of [environmental] deterioration is easily followed to its source. Too many cars, too many factories, too much detergent, too much pesticide, multiplying contrails, inadequate sewage treatment plants, too little water, too much carbon dioxide — all can be traced easily to *too many people.*

It has been estimated that each American baby will consume in its 70 year life span, directly or indirectly at least the following resources:

26 million gallons of water
21,000 gallons of gasoline
10,000 pounds of meat
28,000 pounds of milk and cream
$5,000-$8,000 in school building materials
$6,300 worth of clothing
$7,000 worth of furniture

The impact of the population explosion is far-reaching. Too many people using too many resources means that planning for the wise use of our environment cannot occur without confrontation of the need for population control. A definition from biologist Southwood may be helpful in conceptualizing the issues of population control:

> The optimum population of man is the maximum that can be maintained indefinitely without detriment to the health of the individuals from pollution or from social or nutritional success.

In more specific terms, it is estimated that it would take a drop to an average of 2.1 children per woman in the United States to bring population growth to a halt. It was 3.7 per woman in the late 1950's, with a projected 2.5-2.8 per woman in the 1970's. If sustained over thirty years the higher figure would mean 25 million more Americans by the year 2000.

The world population reached 3.5 billion in mid-1968, with an annual increment of approximately 70 million people. At least one-half billion of these are under-nourished (deficient in calories) and approximately an additional billion are malnourished (deficient in protein). The 200 million mark was passed in the United States in 1969. 350 million is projected for the United States in the year 2000. An average of fifty-five people occupy each square mile (sixty-five excluding Alaska) in the United States. Although that figure is ten times as high in Europe, the overall density figure for the United States is misleading because two-thirds of the population live in metropolitan areas; in central cities the density averages around 7,000 people per square mile.

There are several obvious causes of this huge increase in population which seem to be more salient than a rising birth rate. The death rate in this country has been substantially reduced. The average length of life has been increased. There is a "youth bulge" where more than half the population is under twenty-five. As a result, there has been a huge increase in the percentage of females surviving to (and presently approaching) the child-bearing age. In Latin America, as an extreme example, ". . . the increasing percentage of children in the population means that by 1975 there will be 60 percent *more* marriages formed than in 1960."

Of course, there are huge psychological consequences resulting from the increase in population. Kingsley Davis, head of the International Population and Urban Research Center at Berkeley, calculates that by 1990 more than half of the world's population will be living in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants. Studies of wild life and of rats under controlled conditions have demonstrated the results of extreme overcrowding. This research suggests that once animal numbers in an area increase beyond a certain level, "neuroses" and social disorders are prevalent. Dr. John Calhoun, of the National Institutes of Mental Health, has conducted some experiments on the overcrowding of mice. He has observed a pecking order, withdrawal syndromes, excessive violence, abnormal mothering and adrenal changes in overcrowded mice. One could hypothesize connections between his findings and human behavior in overcrowded conditions. Leyhausen of the Max Planck Institute has stated that the danger of overpopulation ". . . lies in whether the population will exceed the limits of human tolerance towards the presence of other humans. These limits have been set by evolutionary processes over millions of years."

Other related hypotheses have been extended, too. For example:

> The fact remains that this generation of young, unlike their elders, will live to see Dr. Calhoun's 'upper threshold' reached. Is it possible that when the threshold is reached, population growth will be ended, not by birth control or the bomb, but by the mysterious and terrible process that ended all reproduction in Dr. Calhoun's mousery? Is it possible that the young have some sort of subconscious prescience of what lies in store?

Whether or not that author's questions are realistic, young people have indicated a growing concern for population growth. They have been the ". . . vanguard in its anxiety and action to preserve a habitable environment. This generation, it has been said, is the first to carry strontium in their bones and DDT in their tissues. They are indeed justified in their very deep concern over the quality of life on earth in the years to come."

Of course, many others have been concerned with the population explosion. Planned Parenthood-World Population is attempting to control population growth in more than 100 countries, including the United States, with 181 affiliates and 620 clinics in 40 states and the International Planned Parenthood Federation overseas. However, there are 350 million women in developing countries who aren't getting family planning assistance. In the United States, only fifteen percent of the more than five million women who "need and want birth control help" are receiving it. However, Planned Parenthood methods, extensive and successful as they are in many ways, have their critics who see them as the only major efforts now being made to limit population growth:

> The things that make family planning methods acceptable are the very things that make it ineffective for population control. By stressing the right of parents to have the number of children they want, it evades the basic question of population policy which is how to give societies the number of children they need. By offering only the means of *couples* to control fertility, it neglects the need for societies to do so.

In addition to examining the casual role of population overload, we should also question the effectiveness of social technology. The United States government has taken some steps toward population control. Some people contend that it should take a leadership role since, with less than 1/15 of the world's population, it uses ½ of the world's raw materials consumed each year. In fact, America has had a somewhat minimal record in promoting population control:

> The 1950's were a decade of official neglect and public apathy toward the population crisis, despite the intense educational efforts of many private groups and individuals. During the 1960's, however, the population message was finally taken from the hands of experts and brought to the public . . . in 1961, President Kennedy stated that population growth was threatening standards of life throughout the developing world . . . AID grudgingly included family planning assistance in its program in 1965 . . . AID budgets for this purpose remained miniscule until 1968, when Congress specifically earmarked $34.7 million to be used only for population activities. For fiscal 1971 the family planning figure has risen to $86.0 million.

In addition to AID, five other Federal agencies are involved in some way with family planning: Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Office of Economic Opportunity; National Science Foundation; Department of State; and Department of Interior. Paul Ehrlich has criticized these expenditures as

> less than a drop in the bucket, not even a micro-drop, since much of it is frittered away in family planning. Little is done on population control . . . the population budget of all the agencies would not buy more than a dozen sophisticated military jets. [In 1968] it is roughly the same amount as the government appropriation for rat control.

At any rate, it seems clear from the documentation given here and in numerous other sources that the population explosion is uncontrolled and is critical to our survival on the planet. It is in our interest, young people, private groups and government alike, to control the rate of growth of the population so that the country can live within the capabilities of its social systems and the limits of its resources. The following statement summarizes well the urgency of national steps:

> It seems feasible, in theory at least, to mitigate problems arising from the distribution of population, environmental pollution, and scarcity of resources by altering government regulations, taxes, and subsidies; re-allocating costs, and adopting different technologies and life styles. But such measures, even if society is willing to accept the costs, will not enable the United States to postpone indefinitely facing questions about population growth. Eventually growth will have to come to a halt . . . If society waits until limitation becomes a matter of desperate urgency, it may be too late for humane, noncoercive policies, and in any event the quality of life will have been severely and perhaps irreparably impaired.

Proposal

Population control cannot be formulated or implemented effectively without participation by all American citizens. Ignorance and apathy about population control are widespread. We tend to believe erroneously that only the undereducated in our affluent society are contributing to the population explosion. In 1969, two-thirds of the 3.6 million babies born in the United States were children of middle and upper class parents. In addition, some experts claim that Americans *want* too many children, that births beyond the two children per mother necessary for zero population growth are frequently 'planned' by parents desiring large families.

Therefore, if we have (1) general ignorance about population control, (2) high birth rates to affluent parents, and (3) adults who want families larger than two children, steps taken thus far toward family planning may not be sufficient. Evidently, the United States needs a major educational program that will have an impact on all children and will fill the information gap now present. While other countries have taken steps toward this goal, America has been negligent in not moving forward on a substantial population education program. Children must be instructed, not only in the "birds-and-the-bees" format of hygiene classes, but also about the long-run consequences of continued population growth and population control and family planning measures.

> One of the most hopeful and essential means of bringing birth rates down to the replacement level is to introduce this entire subject into the curricula of schools and colleges. If students are to cope with the complex world which they will soon govern as leaders and voters, no more important subjects can be set before them than the growth of human populations, the deterioration of our environment, the decline of many social services, the erosion of personal and political freedom, and the relationships among all these trends.

Contracts for population education would be awarded to state and local agencies, institutions of higher education, and other public and private educational institutions which have expressed their concern with informing the public about the consequences of population expansion. Research and demonstration projects would be authorized, but it is anticipated that the majority of funding would support operational programs throughout the country which would continue for at least three to five years.

A. *Curriculum.* One of the most important and hopeful ways of lowering birth rates to the replacement level is to introduce population education into the curricula of elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

> Ecology, more as a mode of analyzing and viewing our physical and biological world than as a precise experimental science, could, in the 1970's, become a fulcrum of school curriculum around which many other disciplines would pivot. Biology, geography (greatly enhanced by infusions of economics), demography, geology, agronomy, anthropology (with a much greater emphasis on natural history and the changing relationships of man to his environment, how he has treated it, and how it has treated him) and other disciplines can all contribute to a deeper understanding of our world ecosystem. Ecology is the highest form of systems analysis.

Provisions should be made for careful evaluation of available textbook and teaching materials. From these judgments materials which fill existing deficiencies should be prepared on population education. Planning for integration of these materials into school curricula would include the development of model course work and supportive programs on population education for at least the following levels: elementary school; secondary school; technical school; adult education; colleges and universities. Curriculum development for population education would have a strong interdisciplinary direction as well. In addition, special planning for geographic region and cultural and racial issues related to population control (including genocide concepts) will be an integral part of curriculum development to insure wide applicability of materials. Attention to the use of a range of unusual and challenging audio-visual supportive techniques as well as planning for the use of materials and information by paraprofessional teacher aides will also be included in curriculum development.

> . . . it is essential to stress the relationship of human population trends to the physical and biological world. Approaches to balancing population and resources and otherwise assuring the bases for human survival must also be studied. Underlying all these lines of inquiry should be a clear recognition of education's highest calling: to reinforce and, where necessary, to help change public mores.

It is anticipated that such curriculum development would be sufficiently comprehensive to encompass existing sex education programs in secondary schools. Instruction about anatomy, sexuality and personal and collective responsibility for population control would be combined in one approach.

An emphasis would be placed on the wide dissemination of curriculum materials so that educational institutions and organizations can utilize the materials as soon as they are available. Dissemination of information about successful ongoing programs would also be included.

B. *Community Education.* Many teenagers and adults would not have the opportunity to profit from curriculum development for educational institutions. Therefore, materials prepared should be developed in new ways to meet at least the following needs: (1) outreach into communities with high high school dropout rates; (2) information dissemination among the entire adult population; and (3) extension of Planned Parenthood activities into community education about population control. In addition to the development of informative and attention-getting materials, a skillful team of residents, young people, educators and population control experts will be required to develop strategies for effective methods of informing communities about population control.

Activities in community education would include wide use of local resources—parks, libraries, museums and schools. Potentially this stage of population education could unite public officials (e.g., from the Park Service, EPA, and Mayors' commissions on environmental problems), university and elementary and secondary teachers, students, and other concerned citizens to provide a comprehensive information service. In this regard, materials and audio-visual aids for a variety of audiences will need to be developed. A particular emphasis on community education during summer months when most children are not in school and college student manpower would be available seems reasonable.

C. *Training.* Training individuals to implement effectively new curriculum materials and community education projects would include provision of at least the following skills: (1) understanding concepts to be taught; (2) familiarity with use of new curricular materials and community education methods; (3) capability to develop new learning situations for maximum use of new materials; and (4) effective personal functioning in new situations with new materials. Training would be provided to educational personnel as well as community residents and young people and government, business and industrial employees interested in teaching in population education programs. Financial assistance would be made available to insure participation in the training programs. Training would be based on the national provision of new curricular and resource materials. It would develop some uniform skills among individual interests in in-school and community population education. In addition, efforts should be made to make training relevant to local concerns and uniqueness of communities.

D. *Research and Development.* Institutes for ecological study are emerging in universities and give a greater emphasis to issues of population expansion and its relationship to other ecological concerns: "Ecologists now realize that they must study, and study fast, the diverse relationships between man and his *total* environment." Grants for research in population control and population education would be authorized for institutions of higher education. Teams of researchers and local residents could develop research and demonstrations of the results and proposals of that research for substantial funding. Feedback from research and demonstration should be helpful in subsequent years for developing revised and additional resources for population education.

In addition to the local orientation of the population education proposal, the central office will have other major responsibilities, including evaluation and technical assistance. Evaluation of ongoing programs, use and effectiveness of newly developed materials, training programs, and research and demonstration is an integral part of this proposal. Population education is an area which needs rapid but excellent advancement in scientific, social and political terms: "Comparatively little educational information has emanated from leadership sources or from mass media to counteract the massive effect of pronatalist influences." Developing materials and training evaluation which reflect as objectively as possible the inadequacies of the program are essential to advancing population education and keeping it updated.

Technical assistance from experts in education and on population will be provided to local communities as they implement the various aspects of the program. In addition, structured provision of technical assistance to public agencies and universities in their population education activities would strengthen the local effort. Technical assistance would include providing resources specifically needed by a locality, modification of existing resources with a locality, consultation on specific population education problems, identification of publication of model programs, and facilitation of communication between educational institutions and Federal agencies.

Implementation. Consistent with the Environmental Quality Education Act, the population education activities described in this proposal would be included in the programs of the Office of Environmental Education in the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under the supervision of the Commissioner, this office would be responsible for the administration of population education activities and would coordinate activities in the Office of Education related to population education.

It is anticipated that the administration of the Office of Environmental Education would contain a director and staff for population education. In addition, a review council composed of: the Director of Environmental Activities, EPA; the Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, Department for Youth and the Environment; the Special Assistant to the Secretary of HEW for Environmental Affairs; and representatives from the National Science Foundation, AID, OEO, the Council on Environmental Quality, and the Office of Student and Youth Affairs in the Office of the Secretary of HEW. The review council would have advisory responsibilities for the staff of the population education program in their development of curriculum materials, as well as in provision of technical assistance, research and demonstration and strategies for community education. The Advisory Council on Environmental Quality Education which advises the Commissioner, recommends allocation of funds and evaluates programs, shall be augmented or revised to include representatives explicitly concerned with population education.

The budget for population education should eventually be subsumed under that for the Office of Environmental Education. Basically it should include the following elements:

Administration
Curriculum evaluation
Curriculum development
Community education materials
Training programs
Research and demonstration
Evaluation
Technical assistance.

Presidential Leadership

5.4d We are very much aware of the objections of many minority groups to any discussion of population planning. We realize that such discussions are often perceived as attempts at ethnic genocide. It is perceived to be another extension of a very real racial oppression. We would hope that population planning would be perceived as the preservation of the optimum health and welfare of all peoples. Therefore, *we ask that the President of the United States immediately issue a population statement uniting the nation behind a policy of population stabilization.*

World Resource Distribution

5.4e Given the available resources of the earth the basic problem is survival. The demand on these resources is proportional both to the size of the population and the per capita consumption. In addressing the use part of the equation, *we recommend three long-range goals.*

(1) All individuals should have an equal share of world resources.

(2) We must go to a steady-state economy in which the production of durable goods is constant.

(3) We must try to close as many of our cycles of production and consumption as possible through recycling and reuse.

The Task Force recommends the following as some of the initial steps which must be taken to achieve these goals:

(1) Conversion to consumption of renewable resources instead of non-renewable resources wherever possible.

(2) Internationalization and control of all ocean resources including the outer continental shelves.

(3) Phasing out exploitation of the resources of poor countries by rich countries.

International Implications

5.5 The following proposals are directed to the government of the United States, but it is expected that other concerned nations, recognizing the needs, will take similar steps.

Since the people of all nations of the world share the same planet; and

Since the resources of the planet Earth are limited and relatively abused; and

Because the ecological networks comprising the biosphere have little or no relation to the arbitrary political boundaries of nation-states:

It is proposed that steps be taken to reduce national sovereignty by increasing focus on the world and on people, eliminating unnatural nation-states.

World Environmental Organization Should Be Created

5.5a Purpose:
The "environment" is whatever affects the ability of an organism to survive or reproduce. New knowledge often holds the potential for impairing the ability of organisms, especially human beings, to survive or reproduce. So, it seems appropriate to constitute a World Environmental Organization, to protect environmental health and its necessary extension, human health.

The World Environmental Organization should organize itself to give attention to a number of issue areas. Among these are:

1. The atmosphere
2. The oceans
3. Outer space
4. Conservation of resources
5. Discoveries in biological science
6. The ecology of urbanization
7. Population and resource distribution

We describe suggested goals in these issue areas below. We further note that a suggested structure for such a World Environmental Organization has been mentioned by the Environment Commission of the United Nations World Youth Assembly of 1970, and perhaps it might be investigated further. (See UN document 52/WYA/P/6, of July 16, 1970 para. 12; and unofficial background documents in White House Conference files.)

Functions:

1. To anticipate future environmental problems and the directions of current ones;

2. To conduct research to accurately determine the effects of such problems on various parts of the biosphere, including human beings, and how they may be avoided or reversed;

3. To disseminate information about discoveries, data resulting from research, predictions about future biospheric integrity, and successful attempts to improve an undesirable environmental situation, from any place in the world to any other place;

4. To coordinate the environmental activities of as many of the world's institutions as possible; and

5. To search for and activate as many mechanisms as possible for implementation of programs and bringing about needed changes.

Implementation of the World Environmental Organization will be facilitated best in the absence of politically motivated nation-states and will also be simply a token institution unless strong and intimate ties are made.

United Nations Volunteer Corps

5.5b It is recommended that the resources, including financial, of the Peace Corps, be transferred to the United Nations Volunteer Corps and the International Youth Center Project, distributed in equal amounts to both and in an amount not less than the Peace Corps budget at its highest annual level.

It is further recommended that the United Nations Volunteers be composed of at least one-half youth on the staffs, decision-making bodies and other branches of the organization.

Oceans

5.5c *The world's oceans are an international resource where deterioration through oil spillage and dumping of waste material affects all nations. Be it recommended that an international effort be undertaken to control and prevent this senseless destruction through the following specific proposals:*

(A) That oil firms be required to pay the full cost of cleanup of any oil spillage from tankers or wells belonging to them, to the satisfaction of the above mentioned World Environmental Organization.

(B) That the indiscriminate flushing of oil tankers at sea be entirely prohibited.

(C) The world's oceans today provide man with considerable resources in the form of fish and other aquatic animals. The demand on ocean food supplies is expected to increase in the future. It is nevertheless quite obvious that human demand for ocean resources will outstrip nature's ability to renew species of ocean fauna. Be it recommended that an international effort be undertaken to control indiscriminate over-exploitation of the ocean's bio-mass with particular urgency expressed for the preservation of whales.

In addition to the above, it is projected that the ocean bottom will become another valuable resource providing both food and minerals for future generations. Yet, there exist only a few nations with the wealth and technology to exploit the oceans with the greatest need for the products of this resource.

Be it recommended that an international effort be undertaken to see to it that this resource's wealth be equitably divided among the world's nations through the international control of the oceans and is resources.

The preceding recommendations are to be implemented through the World Environmental Organization and the cooperation of the world's nation-states.

Alternatives to Biocides

5.5d We express concern over the chemical assault on the environment and recognize the impact of these contaminants on the ecological systems and the life forms of the planet. Chemicals, such as pesticides, heavy metals, industrial solvents and food additives recognize no political boundary. Hence, we recommend that government and industry seek alternatives to biocides and evaluate the implications to human health and welfare of these chemicals.

There are many products produced by countries which are environmentally harmful. Such products as DDT and cyclamates which have been banned from use in the United States should not be sold to other countries.

American Corporations with Branches Abroad

5.5e Recommendations on the environmental responsibilities of American corporations with branches abroad:

At the present time, there is considerable interest in control and restriction of industrial pollution within the United States. Yet, many of the firms located in the United States have numerous operations in other nations. In order to provide an effective environmental control program, it is necessary to restrict environmental degradation throughout the world.

Be it recommended, therefore, that the White House Conference on Youth propose that the environmental responsibilities imposed upon American corporations in the U.S. be identical to the responsibilities of branches abroad, taking into account the regional, ecological, and geographic differences or that the responsibilities be those declared by the nations within whose boundaries the branches are located, whichever is more restrictive.

Be it recommended also that this be the first step in urging the World Environmental Organization to adopt standardized environmental controls for all industry.

Alternate Power Sources

5.5f *We recommend that intensive research be conducted on the development of alternate power sources to those organic sources utilized extensively today.*

The world is presently utilizing power at a phenomenal rate, a rate which is dramatically increasing. It is apparent, in addition, that the fuel resources of the world are limited, especially so in connection with the non-renewable organic fuels such as coal and petroleum. The human species will be faced with critical situations in the near future unless something is done rapidly. This is not simply a problem facing isolated nations, but the entire assembly of nations.

Be it recommended, therefore, that intensive research be conducted by the government of the U.S., the World Environmental Organization, and other nations into alternate power sources for the future, particularly tidal, geothermal, solar, nuclear fusion, and nuclear fission through the further development of breeder reactors.

Cooperation in Extra-Terrestrial Exploration

5.5g Large amounts of resources are used in launching manned and unmanned space vehicles into the upper levels of the atmosphere and into outer space. Competition among technologically advanced nations often focuses upon achievements in aerospace technologies. Many pressing social problems appear to be deprived of funds by the nearly identical and expensive space programs of competing nations.

We recommend that world cooperation in the unmanned, non-military exploration of earth from outer space be intensified and increased, and that manned exploration of outer space be ended until people on earth all have the opportunity to appreciate the beauty of discovery and the full potential of the human mind for creativity.

In this way, wasteful and unneeded duplicate efforts toward uncertain goals will be minimized or eliminated.

Ban All Supersonic Aircraft

5.5h *Be it recommended that environmentally safe sound levels for all forms of life and properties be established and instituted so as to ban all supersonic aircraft, both domestic and foreign from American airports.*

1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment

5.5i The White House Conference on Youth endorses and supports the 1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment which has as its theme, "Youth and Environmental Action", as a follow up to the White House Conference on Youth and as a youth precursor conference to the 1972 U.N. Conference on "The Human Environment", which will be held in Stockholm. *We further recommend that the White House Conference on Youth provide sufficient funds for sponsoring two or more delegates to the 1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment.*

The Task Force on Environment has a direct interest in promoting and facilitating youth involvement and representation in both the 1971 International Youth Conference on Environment and the 1972 U.N. Conference on Environment. Therefore, this Task Force shall designate its three members of the White House Conference on Youth followup committee, as well as four other elected delegates as responsible for:

1. Ensuring that the environmental resolutions of this Conference are represented in the 1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment.

2. Providing a variety of advisory and information resources for the 1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment.

3. Insisting upon formal youth representation and input in the 1972 U.N. Conference from the U.N. and the U.S. delegations, thereby imparting the concerns, values, and attitudes as reflected in the nation, the White House Conference on Youth, and the 1971 International Youth Conference on the Human Environment.

Comprehensive Strategy

5.5j To follow up the 1971 White House Youth Conference with comprehensive strategy for joint youth action, The White House Conference:

Having stressed the importance of increasing youth involvement and participation in the issues confronting the national and world community;

Recognizing that the World Youth Assembly held at the United National headquarters in July 1970 was the first global attempt to carry out this philosophy by developing new lines of communication between an increased cross-section of world youth—rural, trade-labor, liberation and student groups—in conjunction with the U.N.;

Emphasizing that the majority of the youth from the 120-member states of the U.N. and 13 non-member states and territories and 36 international youth organizations attending the World Youth Assembly overwhelmingly declared themselves in Commission III (Education) in favor of creating an International Youth Center;

Noting that the International Student Movement for the U.N. having student affiliates in nations all over the world, representing youth of diverse ideological, political and cultural positions have agreed to assist in the development of pilot projects for I.Y.C. with the International Student Club in Vienna, Austria, the International House in New York, N.Y., and other international centers throughout the world:

Welcomes the initiative for the foundation of International Youth Centers whose purposes are (1) to encourage a global perspective among youth throughout the world; (2) to relate the values and activist orientation of an increased cross-section of world youth, including young workers, rural youth and students to the ideals and realities of the U.N.; (3) to broaden the base and legitimize world youth participation in all phases of U.N. concern; (4) to coordinate information on youth policies and programs on a global scale providing a shared pool of data and resources related to youth; (5) to utilize this assemblage of information on youth policies and programs to stimulate and develop new strategies for joint-youth action; (6) to form permanent international nation-governmental organization youth projects and to provide means for implementing and following up proposals for world youth; (7) to introduce into the U.N. new techniques of meditation and conflict resolution for young people throughout the world.

Also recognizing that the problems of this nation, the United States, are integrally related to the problems of the world and therefore require integrated international solutions, recommends:

1. That the implementation of the proposals of this 1971 White House Conference on Youth would be greatly facilitated by cooperation and participation on the Project for International Youth Centers.

2. That the operation and the results of the activity of the

Task Forces can continue past the time of the White House Conference by participation in the pilot project of I.Y.C. to coordinate and distribute information on youth participation and resources available to youth working on the areas of Development, Education, Environment, Human Rights and Peace.

3. That U.S. youth join in the effort to make available to youth throughout the world, information on where and how they can take active roles in working towards the solutions of the problems discussed in this White House Conference on Youth.

4. That institutions represented at the White House Conference on Youth make every effort to provide resources including funds, printed materials and other relevant materials to the five issues addressed by I.Y.C. to its pilot project.

Urban Environment; Human Ecology

5.6 Although environmental pollution has become recognized in recent years as a major crisis of society, the focus of this issue has overwhelmingly been addressed to problems that are important to middle class Americans. Problems of polluted lakes and rivers, national parks and wilderness, and population growth have been associated with the terms environment and ecology. *The problems of urban transportation, slum housing conditions, inadequate health care, recreation and education, and unemployment or unsatisfactory employment are vital to urban poor people, but have not been properly understood and dealt with as part of the environmental crisis.*

In inner areas of most of the nation's cities, the environment has become nearly unliveable, and is most hazardous to human health and survival, presenting few opportunities for improvement of living conditions. The quality of life in the inner city is affected by concentrations of air, water, garbage and noise pollutants, over-congestion, run-down housing and inadequate recreation facilities, characteristics which are absent or minimal in non-urban settings. Thus many of the solutions to the environmental crisis must begin with an emphasis on correcting inner city conditions.

The degraded urban environment has come about because people who live in the inner city areas and the services they require have been largely ignored, inadequately provided for, or given low priorities by America's institutions and the public as a whole.

The White House Conference on Youth hereby proposes that national priority be given for the necessary actions to improve the quality of the environment of the people of America's inner cities.

Citizen Participation

5.6a All governmentally supported programs must include full citizen participation in planning and implementation.

Millions of Americans from all socio-economic strata have developed an environmental awareness. But if the environmental movement is to have more relative cohesiveness and impact than other social movements, policies and programs must be effected which attract a broader citizenry to positive action. Only by involving increasingly more people in graduated programs of commitment will the movement gain the breadth and momentum it lacks at the present.

Urban human ecology must be a people-oriented movement, stressing community involvement. Community involvement means "grass roots" participation in planning and implementation of all programs involving the social and physical well-being of people. It is recommended strongly that all governmental units involve "grass roots" participation, by adopting new guidelines and/or the enforcement of existing ones, which makes full community participation in planning and implementation a compulsory requirement for all federally assisted programs. Examples include: Model Cities, Community Action Programs, antipoverty, and health education.

In addition, more emphasis must be placed on manpower training and the provision of community jobs for the employable unemployed in housing maintenance, sanitation, community social workers and homemakers, health aids, youth job corps, and home-school coordinators.

Citizens Right of Legal Action

5.6b All existing laws and regulations should be enforced and citizens should have a right to guarantee this enforcement in a court of law. It is a fact that many of our problems are associated with a failure on the part of the government institutions and the public in general to require the enforcement of existing laws and regulations.

Youth of this conference must go back to their communities, evaluate the laws now in existence, determine what laws are not being enforced, why they are not, who is opposing their enforcement, and direct organized efforts through community action to bring about their application.

Youth must attempt to involve in this community action government and public lawyers who can utilize both their knowledge and leverage to require that all levels of government enforce laws and regulations where Federal funds are being used to supplement programs for improving the quality of life in the urban environment.

The Conference advocates the legal principle that the citizen has the right to bring suits against any person, institution or government agency which acts in violation of existing laws pertaining to all areas of the environment.

Pollution Impact on Urban Areas

5.6c All governmental and private pollution control activities must include consideration of the impact of pollutants on the imminent hazards to man's health and well-being in the urban areas. We insist that all the environmental protection organizations at all levels of government give special emphasis to the environmental health impact of concentrations of air, water, solid waste and aesthetic pollutants on the people of the inner city; that the governmental budget be expanded to finance monitoring systems for identifying this impact; and that within this system an early-warning procedure be established; and that if a trend is demonstrated providing a dangerous influence (current or imminent) on the quality of life for the people of the inner city, that action be taken immediately to end the danger. We also support the concept that the Federal government guarantees to every citizen adequate health care.

Urban Transportation; Fewer Highways

5.6d *Support should be given for non-highway modes of transportation in the inner city, and to implement this we urge the abolition of the Highway Trust Fund and its replacement by a Transportation Trust Fund.* It is the people who live in the inner cities who have suffered the tragic consequences of our inflexible marriage to the highway system. It is they who must live with the traffic which has paralyzed movements in our urban areas. It is they who must choke on the exhaust fumes from the thousands of commuter automobiles.

Yet, it is these people who have had to pay the costs for these highways: it is they who have lost their homes, their parklands, and their community identity. Therefore, we propose the following:

1. It is recommended that Congress abolish the Federal Highway Trust Fund and institute in its place a Transportation Fund, from which monies would be appropriated for all modes of transportation, including, but not limited to mass transportation.
2. All citizens are urged to contact their Congressmen and future candidates for Congress to demonstrate their support for more aid to non-highway modes of transportation.
3. *We believe that the $400 million appropriated in fiscal 1971 for mass transportation is totally inadequate* and that increased Federal funding is mandatory if our urban areas are to maintain and develop viable systems of urban mass transportation.
4. We urge youth to petition Congress to institute a Federal fund of categorical grants related to the problems unique to those who are poor and those who are relatively immobile. We believe that such a fund would be a first step in changing planning priorities for transportation. Among those modes of transportation that might be considered are bike-ways and dial-a-bus systems.

More Open Space Needed

5.6e Urban open space and park areas must be expanded to meet the greatly increased recreation and community needs.

Whereas the bulk of the population growth has occurred in our urban cities; and

Whereas the density of people has outstripped the total land area in our urban centers; and

Whereas many of the nation's pollution problems have been indigenous to our urban centers; and

Whereas the total land for recreation and leisure relative to the density of people in our urban areas is inversely proportional; and

Whereas recreation and leisure are an integral part of our social, physical, mental, and spiritual well being; and

Whereas there has been gross neglect for those living in ghetto and low income housing projects in terms of education, recreation, and health; and

Whereas open spaces, parks, playgrounds, and recreation areas, are an essential part of every community's needs; and

Whereas the urban area has been infamous for gross neglect in long range urban planning and development; and

Whereas a higher percentage of our nation's youth reside in urban areas; and

Whereas the President has asked Congress to appropriate an even larger sum for urban areas from 75 million to 200 million dollars for urban park facilities; and

Whereas there has been a lack of citizen participation in the decision making process in urban planning agencies in regards to urban growth patterns and development:

We, therefore, strongly support the following recommendations and comments:

(1) All available space such as neighborhood parks in the inner city of any city should be utilized for all seasons. Activities including cultural and entertainment programs must be instigated.

(2) Because the use of leisure time is a valuable experience, especially for young people, utilization of all available space to facilitate activities for community youth is essential.

(3) Because of shorter work time, opportunities must be provided for adults to allow them more creativity and involvement in leisure activities.

(4) School facilities must be utilized in such a manner that the schools will become more involved in satisfying community needs.

(5) In areas that provide limited open space we urge creative and innovative uses of space such as roof tops of buildings. Such activities as day care centers, parks, skating rinks, tennis courts, tracks, etc., can be designed to occupy this space. Community involvement will support this action.

(6) Study must be made of comprehensive recreation requirements for the inner city since there is no research focusing on inner city recreation.

(7) More funds should be provided for urban recreation activities, facilities and personnel for inner city communities.

(8) The report of the President's Commission on Violence indicates that recreation and park facilities within an urban setting help to cut down on riots.

(9) Development must be instigated that makes fuller use of street areas, water fronts and other potential recreation sites.

(10) All levels of government—Federal, state and local—must incorporate an urban planning citizen's bureau with sufficient power to veto any short or long-range urban plans initiated by the government that are not in the best interest of the welfare of the people.

Housing Construction Is Inadequate

5.6f We recommend that immediate action be taken by Federal, state, and local governments to provide decent housing for all persons living in the urban areas of our country.

This country needs 26 million housing units to meet the need. New units are being built at a rate of 1.5 million per year. This is totally unsatisfactory to meet today's need.

We recommend the following as specific methods to be used in achieving the goal of sufficient urban housing:

(1) Increased construction of new housing units.

(2) The recycling of existing housing in the campaign to provide decent housing for millions of Americans.

(3) The renovation of housing must be coordinated with the effort to revitalize the total urban community through programs such as Model Cities, Urban Renewal, Low Income Housing, and other governmental and public efforts.

(4) All multiple dwelling housing units, including those provided by modernization and upgrading, must have built-in programs for assuring operation and maintenance of the facilities in accordance with applicable housing codes. This offers an opportunity to provide jobs for members of the community.

(5) Elimination of racial discrimination in all housing programs. *Public housing should be racially and economically integrated.*

(6) Housing projects should provide adequate modes of transportation to places of work, shopping, education, and so forth.

We strongly question our society which allows some people to go without adequate housing while others own two or more homes.

Land and Resource Policies

5.7 The youth of America, in recognition of the fact that land and water uses have critical impacts on human life and the quality of our environment, do urge that the United States develop and adopt as a matter of national action a comprehensive land policy. Such a policy must recognize that men and nations and their governments are trustees of earth's land and water resources and that all people and all generations, as beneficiaries of this trust, have a right to be secure in the protection and wise use of these resources.

To further this policy, the following recommendations are made:

(1) An immediate attempt must be made both to identify the total reserves of non-renewable resources on the planet and to undertake major, accurate projections for their future consumption. A regulatory international community is necessary to maintain control over environmentally damaging actions committed by individual members which are harmful to all.

(2) The North American nations should jointly develop a natural systems inventory to provide the basis for ecologically oriented land and water classification. We take note of work in progress in this area by the Canadian government through the ARDA program.

(3) *The Federal government must assume the lead role in developing a comprehensive land use classification and planning system through all appropriate means,* to include financial and technical assistance to regional bodies, states, and local governments.

(4) All public and private development programs and activity must be subject to full review and analysis. This would require public hearings and involvement by the public, student groups, and environmental groups.

(5) Immediate steps must be taken to insure that short-term decisions on land use in urban areas favor more amenities and a better environment. *Public land acquisitions, especially in the eastern United States, must be accelerated.*

(6) *Special programs must be developed to address the coastal zones*, but it is essential that these areas be considered as part of a larger ecological system. This special coastal zone protection must include:

- (a) that all beaches be public property with public access guaranteed across all private lands;
- (b) estuary protection from pollution, fill and dredging;
- (c) complete coastal management zoning on regional and statewide lands;
- (d) protection of the seabed and offshore coastal resources;
- (e) activities uniquely appropriate to the coastal zone would take priority.

(7) Certain specific government programs merit our support:

- (a) Wilderness Act of 1964;
- (b) Natural National Landmark Program;
- (c) National Trail Program;
- (d) Wild and Scenic Rivers Program.

(8) The land policy must include provision for a network of public and private lands for diverse recreation activities, such a network to include Federal wilderness, youth hostels, parklands, forests, and refuges; and similar areas at the state and local government levels.

(9) Concurrent with a national land policy, programs to enlighten and improve professional and technical competence of land use planners, managers, and others involved in land use decisions must be initiated.

Islands Require Special Treatment

5.7a As areas very distinct from the continental United States, the islands of, or possessed by, or held in trusteeship by the government of the United States must be treated in ways different from the policies applied to the continental states.

Islands are pre-eminent examples of the most basic of ecological principles—a whole, alone, spaceship earth. They are the natural settings for experimenting and understanding the essence of closed environmental systems.

Presently, United States' island lands, most notably the Hawaiian Islands, are in a state of severe cultural and biological disequilibrium. The result of the rendering of the cultural fabric by tourism, commercialism, assimilative education policies and insensitive administrative policies coupled with massive ecological disruption from in-migration, poor land use, and hundreds of imported species of plants and animals, is an eminent human environmental crisis facing these islands.

Recognizing the uniqueness of islands and the right of communities and peoples to have the greatest voice in the decisions which affect them most, a new policy must be embarked upon by the Federal and island governments.

(1) In land use and related policy areas, the goal must be maximum self-sufficiency of food supply. Vegetables and meat must come before pineapples and sugar cane.

(2) The Dole Company owns an entire major Hawaiian island called Lanai. This land must be returned to the State and people of Hawaii. A military target island similarly must be returned.

(3) Adequate housing, public open space and amenities must be prior to military bases and "national security", presently a burden born disproportionately by United States island areas.

(4) Luxury imports must be heavily taxed to provide for the solution of solid waste problems.

(5) The tourist industry must pay the costs of the services it requires and the degradation it causes. Cheap inter-island water transit and intra-island mass transit must be developed.

(6) Other policies which may be island-isolationist in their nature and contrary to the idea of nationalism must be experimented with to allow for the health and integrity and preservation of the people and their lands.

Environmental Protection Must Take Priority

5.7b There are a number of areas—including agriculture, and urban growth and transportation—on which we lack the time and mechanisms at this Conference to comment. We *therefore recommend that in specific decision-making, environmental protection take priority over commercial or political gain. Further, there are current examples of major environmental degradation —including strip mining, Black Mesa Navajo Power Plant, trans-Alaska pipeline, the nation's wetlands, timbercutting on public and private lands, Appalachia and highway planning—which must be curtailed.*

Nationalization of Appalachian Coal Industry

5.7c *The Task Force believes that the evidence on the Appalachian coal industry can lead to only one conclusion: the industry must be nationalized or preferably Appalachianized so that the people will have the power to halt the needless death and human suffering and be able to reclaim the wealth generated from the mining industry which is rightfully theirs.* We propose that there be created an Appalachian Mountain Authority, which would own and operate for the people of Appalachia the mining industry and invest the wealth accrued from this ownership to needed public investments for the uplift of the Appalachian Region.

Creation of Community Ecology Center

5.8 *Community action in environmental matters is vital. To this end, the Task Force endorses the concept of the community ecology center as a base for recycling, information, etc.*

The 1960's were marked by the turmoil of two great social movements—black liberation and peace. Although these movements resulted in many positive changes in American life, few would contest that there were some serious shortcomings in terms of eliciting broad-based citizen support, particularly at the beginning of the movement. One of the principal reasons for the shortcomings of these movements was the lack of movement-oriented institutions through which individuals and groups could not only express their concern, but also follow through into actual social change. The present decade has seen the spawning of an environmental movement which supplements the ongoing liberation and peace movements. Given that thousands of Americans from all socio-economic strata have developed an environmental awareness, *there are several needs which must be met if the environmental movement is to have more relative cohesiveness and impact than the other movements.*

The first, most basic, need is to establish channels to transform this new-found awareness and concern into actions leading to the revolutionary changes which must occur in order to avoid a cultural and ecological catastrophe.

A second need is to develop methods for increasing the momentum of the movement. Thus, any mechanisms for generating initial action must continually reinforce the deepening of an ecological perspective among both individuals and groups. At the same time, programs must be effected which attract citizens into positive action. Only by involving increasingly more people in graduated programs of commitment will the movement gain the momentum it lacks at the present.

Additionally, since interest in the environment is shared by such a diversity of Americans, centers for environmental action must present a wide variety of programs. These programs should be explicitly designed to top the common denominator of ecological concern and use it as a basis for uniting diversified perspective into an ecological ethic.

If these considerations are not met, then the environmental movement will not have a lasting impact on American life, and the power of the decision-making process will never rest in the hands of people who possess an ecological consciousness. *If a grass-roots environmental movement fails to effect a profound reordering of the American culture, then the consequences will indeed be dire.*

Ecology Center: a Blueprint

5.8a In some twenty-five communities across the nation, citizens, under the leadership of young people have realized these needs and have established locally based ecology centers to try to meet them. Most of the centers are non-profit corporations which are publically promoting ecology to citizens of the community. They are achieving this goal by initiating programs of their own and by coordinating the activities of existing and developing environmental groups. Programs and services of these centers vary with the circumstances of their locale, but all have the goal of generating environmental information and then indicating appropriate targets for individual and organizational action. Common features of these centers are public environmental libraries and bookstores, speakers bureaus, switchboards for environmental information and referrals, and publications ranging from weekly calendars of events to lengthy political critiques. Ecology radio shows, recycling centers, testimony presentations, environmental inventories of local areas, and environmental education projects of all sorts are facilitated, coordinated or sponsored by most of these centers. Some of the centers are deeply involved in counter-cultural projects such as free universities, peoples' parks, organic gardens and food co-ops.

At the same time, *many of these same centers have worked with large corporations and universities, small businesses, labor unions and all levels of special purpose government.* In dealing with these institutions, the centers have adhered to the same viewpoint as in dealing with street people or suburban housewives. The viewpoint is that the development of an ecological ethic in both individuals and institutions supersedes all political ideologies and economic motives.

Operating from a tax-exempt framework, ecology centers have been relatively very successful in promoting environmental concern and action. They are able to avoid the potential pitfalls of political partisanship while simultaneously increasing the effectiveness of political organizations by serving as a clearinghouse and information and resource generator for them.

The ecology center concept is functioning in a cross-section of American communities, from the huge eastern megalopolis to intellectual centers of the midwest, to small towns in the west and south. The concept is evolving concurrently with the sophistication of the environmental movement. The success of the concept does not appear to be ephemeral, however. Centers continue to receive support from many interests and are continually expanding their constituencies. More importantly, ecology centers are generally recognized by their communities as the organization most responsive to the needs discussed at the outset of this essay. *The ecology center concept, then, can be regarded as a genuine and hopeful first step in developing the movement-generating organ that is so vitally needed.*

Proposal. The ecology center concept is a model for the participants of this conference to apply to their local communities when the conference is over.

The flexibility of the concept allows ecology centers to successfully operate in widely varied areas, depending on local circumstances.

The centers are operated by full-time staffs, paid subsistence wages, and by volunteers from all segments of the community. For the most part, the paid staff are under age thirty, but volunteers range from Boy Scouts to retirees. Funding has been a problem common to all centers and staff members could probably be earning substantially more in other capacities. Still, they have chosen to work with ecology centers because of the centers' great potential for realizing social change.

It is recommended that the ecology center concept be tested in local communities by the returning participants of this conference. Described below is a sample budget for a local ecology center in its first year of operation. The figures are based on a composite for several individual centers. Local rents and utilities may be considerably less and salaries should vary according to local cost-of-living expenses. An ecology center should be able to operate quite effectively on $40,000 in its first year of existence. Budgets for the second year usually rise about 20%. Generally, this increase represents an increase in program and personnel.

Salaries	
Director	$5,800
Projects Manager	5,800
Researcher & Librarian	5,600
Secretary (part time)	2,800
	20,000
Payroll taxes (10%)	2,000
	22,000

Center Facilities	
Rent ($500.00/mo)	6,000
Utilities	1,200
	7,200

Communications	
Telephone ($120.00/mo)	1,440
Postage	1,000
	2,440
Staff Travel & Expenses	
Fares	600
Office Supplies	500
Equipment	
(Typewriters, filing cabinets, chairs, etc.)	700
Library	
(Books, newsletter and magazine subscriptions)	1,500
Publicity	
(Ads, handbills, posters)	500
Publications	
(Reprints, fact sheets, booklets)	1,600
Project Seed Money	
(Materials, fund raising costs, services)	3,000
Legal & Accounting Fees	200
Insurance	350
Total	40,590

Notes. More specific information, suggestions and individual consultation may be obtained from the Ecology Center Communications Council, Inc., 1728 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. This Council was formed in December 1970, as a means of improving communications between existing centers and facilitating the development of new centers.

Eighteen ecology centers which were operating at that time compose the charter members of the Council. Since December several other centers have become informally affiliated. Through its central office in Washington, the ECCC is able to draw upon the expertise of successful grass roots organizations, as well as the wealth of information which is in Washington. The Council can then make these resources directly available to parties wishing to apply the ecology center concept to their own community in an effort to make the environmental ethic an integral part of the American culture.

Reallocation of National Defense Budget

5.9 *The Task Force recommends that 20% of the national defense budget be re-allocated to the defense and protection of life in the United States. One of the broad objectives which should receive additional funds is the improvement of environment in urban areas.*

Arctic Alaskan Oil

5.10 *The Task Force recommends that the risk of environmental damage from transportation of Arctic Alaskan oil is great enough to halt further development of these fields at this time.* If energy requirements require their development, transportation should be designed to lower the risk of environmental damage.

Publication of Activities

5.11 The Task Force authorizes the publication of their activities, discussions, proposals, and recommendations by an editorial board elected from this group. The editorial board will meet after the Conference to prepare this report.

The report would include a prologue defining the environment and trends in the environmental movement, delegate essays, and an appendix of eco-tactics and action programs which have been discussed by the Task Force groups.

Any profits from the publication will be contributed to the eco-centers and/or the International Youth Conference of 1971.

Cut Funds of Chemical and Biological Warfare

5.12 *The Task Force recommends that funding for chemical and biological warfare be halted.*

War: Environmental Disaster

5.13 War is an environmental disaster. Intraspecific killing is not conducive to the survival of a species. In addition, wars have spread disease and destroyed the land through fire, devastation, and deforestation.

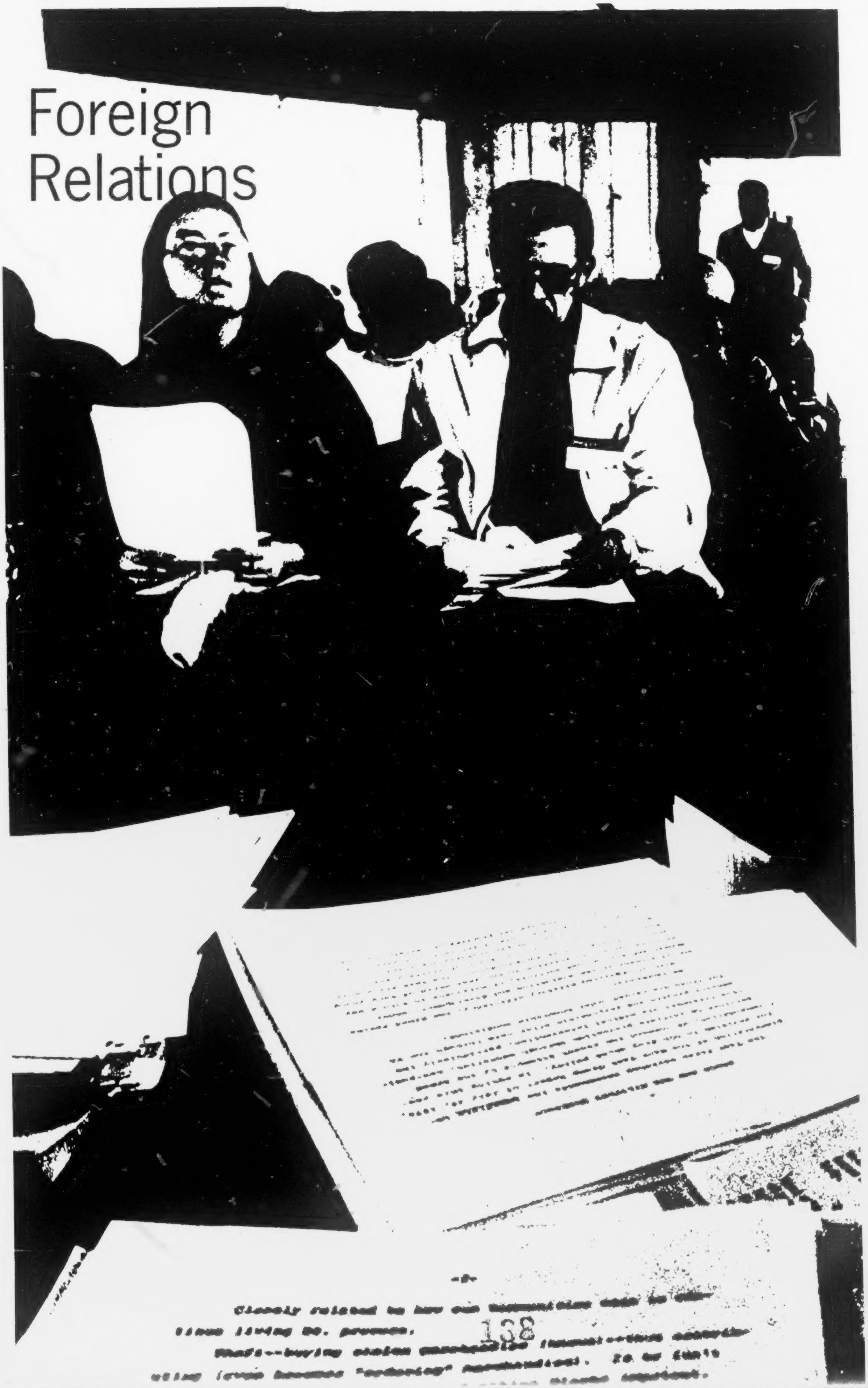
In our own time, the environmental hazards of war have greatly increased. The power of environmental destruction by nuclear war, biocides, and other biological and chemical methods is so great that no country should be able to risk the total destruction of all or large parts of the planet.

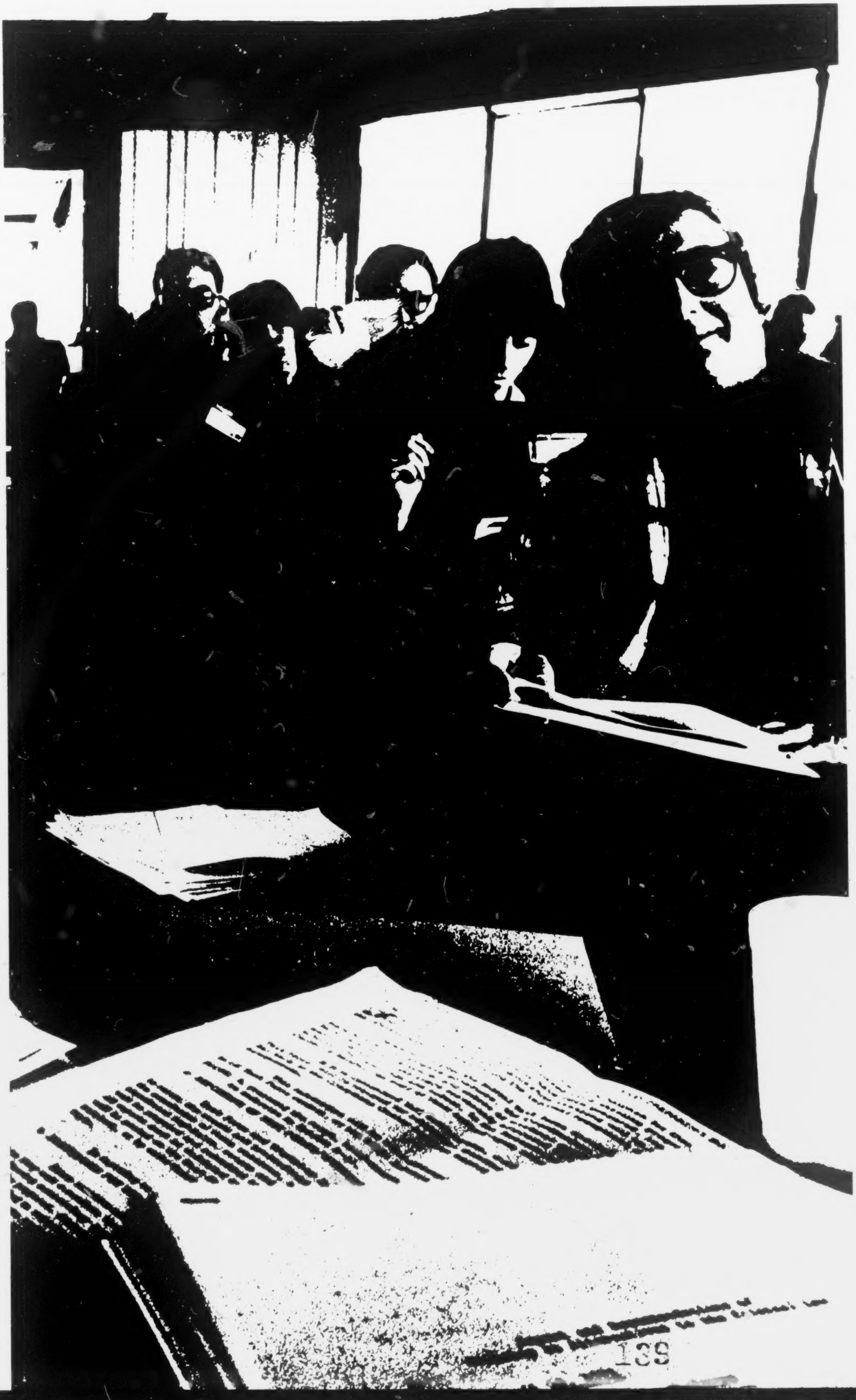
To this end, the Task Force recommends the following:
(1) Completely banning of nuclear tests;
(2) Completely banning *all* forms of chemical and biological warfare;
(3) Banning weapons from the sea as well as the sea floor, and
(4) Banning military equipment and operations from space.

Cultural Exchange Programs

5.14 National governments need not be the only vehicle for contact between people. Since non-political citizen contacts are sometimes productive, the Task Force recommends the expansion of cultural exchange programs among citizens of the United States, the Soviet Union, Red China, and the developing nations, with emphasis on scientific and ecological cooperation.

Foreign Relations





All recommendations were voted upon and approved by the whole Task Force meeting in general session. Drafts of the recommendations originated from Task Force workshops. The Task Force decided to include a list of minority positions which appear at the end of each section. At the end of some paragraphs there also appears, in italics, the Task Force vote on the particular issue involved.

African Workshop; Racial Policies

6.1 *We the members of the African workshop deplore the racist and colonial regimes of southern Africa.* Further we feel that our policies towards these nations hinder our relations with black and other non-white nations. Therefore, we make the following policy recommendations for endorsements by this Task Force plenary session:

1. That the U.S. government ratify the U.N. Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

2. That the U.S. government initiate restrictions on U.S. investments contrary to this convention.

3. That in line with the U.S. boycott of Rhodesia through U.N. sanctions, the U.S. initiate an international boycott of South Africa in all financial, social, economic and cultural areas. Specifically the U.S. government should:
   a. Boycott all athletic events involving South African players, which are not open to black Africans on an equal basis.
   b. Support the Congressional Black Caucus effort to withdraw the sugar quota from South Africa and shift it to black African nations.

4. That the U.S. government should inform the American public of the problems of southern Africa, specifically those problems related to legalized discrimination.

5. That the U.S. government should condemn the restoration of British arms sales to Africa.

6. That the U.S. government tighten loopholes which allow trade to continue with Rhodesia through Portugal and South Africa, and the U.S. government urge other governments do likewise.

7. That we condemn U.S. military aid to Portugal and request that it be cut off until such time that Portugal recognizes the right of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination. *Yes 68; No 20; Abstain 18.*

8. That the U.S. government should not exercise its veto in the U.N. Security Council on the use of force in bringing down the regime in Rhodesia. (Minority Report): *Yes 41; No 55; Abstain 7.*

Black Africa

6.1a *We also urge the U.S. Government to better its policies with Black Africa.* Specifically:

1. To support the Congressional Black Caucus proposal to double U.S. economic aid to Black Africa from 8 to 16 percent of the U.S.

aid without any political strings attached. This aid should be allocated in line with the recipient countries' priorities.

2. To broaden cultural exchanges, scholarships and betterment of education in Black Africa with particular consideration of programs including black Americans.

3. To increase aid to the refugees of the South African conflict.

4. To support the stockholder's attempt to withdraw Gulf Oil from Angola.

5. To urge other organizations to follow the lead of the World Council of Churches in supporting national liberation groups in Black Africa.

Furthermore we condemn the Cabora Bassa Dam project in Mozambique which allows the influx of South African troops to suppress the Mozambique freedom fighters. We also express deep concern over the adverse implications for the villages and people resulting from the dam's operation. *Yes 74; No 30; Abstain 5.*

Indochina; Withdrawal By December 31, 1971

6.2 The Task Force on Foreign Relations of the White House Conference on Youth rejects the Administration's continuing plea for a gradual withdrawal to be terminated at some unspecified date as one last attempt to influence militarily the eventual outcome of the war in Indochina. *Therefore, the Task Force on Foreign Relations*

Recommends total and immediate cessation of U.S. ground and naval operations in Indochina.

Recommends total and immediate cessation of U.S. bombing in Indochina.

Recommends total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces and cessation of logistical support, both overt and covert, from Indochina by December 31, 1971. Such action will best insure the release of all prisoners of war as we see no relationship between military pressure and the release of American prisoners.

Recognizing the U.S. share of responsibility for the plight of the refugees and the rehabilitation of the land, the Task Force further recommends that at the cessation of the conflict in Indochina, even if confronted with a reorganization of the political spectrum in Vietnam, the U.S. should vigorously support an international effort to assist in reconstruction and economic development by means designed to benefit and strengthen the maximum number of people of that area, at the request of the governments of the area. *Yes 50; No 34.*

Vietnamization; *Minority Report*

6.2a The Task Force believes that a majority of young people support efforts to withdraw American combat troops from Indochina. The Yankelovich Study indicated that 56 percent of American young people support "steady withdrawal but with reasonable assurance the South Vietnamese will remain strong enough to be able to make their own political choices." This, we believe, speaks to the heart of the problem. The ability of South Vietnam and the extent of the American commitment to protect the right of self-

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determination of these people must be considered in any discussion of American Troop withdrawals.

We support the continued and accelerated withdrawal of American combat troops from Southeast Asia. We believe in the Vietnamization process on the grounds that nations should develop the capability to defend themselves.

Withdrawal of American Troops must be based on factors including the safety of American troops and an agreement on the safe return of prisoners of war once the American combat involvement has ended.

We call for increased diplomatic efforts to encourage the early exchange of prisoners of war between the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Viet Cong. We further call for the release of information of the names of prisoners now held by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, the flow of correspondence, and the inspection of POW camps by the International Red Cross.

The government of the United States and its citizens must realize that we should have a continued interest in the development of the nations and peoples of Indochina. We encourage increased economic assistance to these nations over the next ten years.

We believe that America cannot once again return to a policy of isolationism especially in Indochina, but must involve itself through cultural and economic assistance to aid these people in their development throughout the 1970's. *34 votes.*

People's Peace
Treaty;
Minority Report

6.2b The Foreign Relations Task Force joins with the special session on Indochina in endorsing the principles of the People's Peace Treaty, and calling upon President Nixon to instruct our representatives in Paris to end the war on its fair and just terms

INTRODUCTION

Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the name of the people of the United States, but without our consent. It destroys the land and the people of Vietnam. It drains America of her resources, her youth and her honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth. In rejecting the war we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination against people based on color, class, sex, national origin and ethnic grouping which form a basis of the war policies, present and past, of the United States.

Principles of the Joint Treaty of Peace

Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam, and publicly to set the date by which all U.S. military forces will be removed.

Vietnamese agree to participate in an immediate cease-fire, and will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops, and to secure release of all military prisoners.

Americans pledge to stop imposing Thieu, Ky and Khiem on the people of Vietnam in order to ensure their right to self-determination, and to ensure that all political prisoners are released.

Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections, in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops, and to enter discussions of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of persons who cooperated with either side in the war.

Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia.

Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war. We will resolve all other questions in mutual respect for the rights of self-determination of the people of Vietnam and of the United States. *7 votes.*

UN and Geneva Conference; *Minority Report*

6.2c In light of the continued deadlock in the Vietnamese peace negotiations we call on the United States government to:

1. Ask the Soviet Union and United Kingdom to reconvene the Geneva Conference of 1954 and also to consider expanding Asian membership;

2. Request the United Nations, and its members, especially the Asian ones, to mediate and supervise a peace settlement, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and the holding of free elections so that the people of Southeast Asia may settle their own destiny. *Yes 36; No 57; Abstain 1.*

Economic Assistance; *Minority Report*

6.2d Whereas the United States has a continuing responsibility to the people of Indochina; and

Whereas it has consistently been an ideal of the United States to provide economic assistance towards social development of foreign nations; and

Whereas the United States has been directly responsible for destruction of people, agricultural lands and hospital facilities in Indochina; and

Whereas the United Nations has been an effective channel for administration of foreign assistance problems:

Therefore be it Resolved, That the Vietnam caucus of the White House Conference on Youth recommends agricultural support, development rehabilitation, and relief in the form of a two billion dollar grant to the people of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos; and

Be it further Resolved, That these funds be administered by the United Nations. *Yes 36; No 57; Abstain 1.*

Release of Prisoners

6.2e A resolution passed by the Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice and referred to the Task Force on Foreign Relations for consideration:

We believe that the current plight of ALL prisoners of war in Southeast Asia is an insult to human dignity as well as international justice. We therefore call upon the People's Republic of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front (NLF), the Pathet Lao, as *well as the government of South Vietnam for the IMMEDIATE UNCONDITIONAL release of all prisoners of war currently being held. We furthermore support the immediate exchange and repatriation of any prisoners of war taken after the initial release of all prisoners. Yes 52; No 18; Abstain 2.*

Resolution on POW's

6.2f In 1965 U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold flew to Peking in a dramatic humanitarian gesture that brought about the release of all American Korean War POW's.

Accordingly we call on Secretary General U Thant to take personal action to help secure the freedom of all prisoners of war being held in both North and South Vietnam. *Passed unanimously.*

Vietnam Protests

6.2g BE IT RESOLVED that the White House Conference on Youth strongly endorses and supports non-violent demonstrations in opposition to the United States military activities in Indochina.

We further resolve that telegrams of support be sent to the following sponsors of ongoing and future activities.

(1) Vietnam Veterans Against the War endorsing the Dewey Canyon III operation through this week.

(2) Concerned Officers Movement Memorial Service for the Indochina War Dead to be attended by G.I.'s in uniform at the Washington Cathedral on April 23, 1971.

(3) National Peace Action Coalition marches in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco on April 24, 1971.

(4) Moratorium for Kent State and Jackson State on May 5 in major cities in the United States. *Yes 52; No 23; Abstain 4.*

Vietnam Oil Fields

6.2h Given the growing controversy regarding the significance and dimensions of the newly discovered oil fields off the coast of South Vietnam, and the possible relationship between American oil companies' requests to the Saigon regime for leases and the potential influence these requests may have on United States policy toward South Vietnam;

Be it Resolved, That the Task Force strongly requests immediate and exhaustive hearings by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on this vital and emerging issue. *Yes 48; No 17; Abstain 8.*

Middle East;
Aid to Palestine Refugees

6.3 We strongly recommend that the United States increase its financial support of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) in order to maintain the medical, educational, welfare, and other humanitarian services of that organization. We also urge that, effective immediately, the United States assume the UNRWA deficit for a period of three years, if possible in concert with other nations.

International Guarantees

6.3a We believe that a solution to the Middle East crisis should not be imposed by the great powers. Rather, we urge the United States government to act even more energetically to promote international guarantees for the maintenance of a durable peace in the Middle East, acceptable to all parties concerned including the Palestinians. And to this end, the United States should support the development of an apparatus to maintain any mutually acceptable peace arrangements.

De-escalate Arms Buildup

6.3b We urge the United States to intensify negotiations with the other major powers involved in supplying military assistance to the Middle East to reduce military polarization and to de-escalate the arms buildup. And further, we urge the government and private organizations of the United States to make special efforts to renew and strengthen diplomatic, educational, and cultural ties with all peoples and states in the Middle East.

	Yes	*No*	*Abstain*
6.3	*58*	*45*	*8*
6.3a	*48*	*42*	*7*
6.3b	*79*	*9*	*6*

Mid-East Common Market

6.3c We recommend that immediately after a peace settlement in the Middle East, the United States government support an increased economic, political, and educational interchange between all countries of the Middle East as the first stage in development of a Middle East independent common market. And to this end, we urge that the United States, at the request of the countries involved, take the initiative in creating an international authority through the auspices of the United Nations, for the regional development of the area, including water, highway communication, and fundamental resources. *Yes 46; No 41; Abstain 10.*

Permanent Home for Refugees

6.3d (1) *We support the struggle of the Palestinian people to live in their own homeland with freedom and dignity.*

(2) Resolve that a permanent and just solution to the Middle East conflict must be based on the right of both Jews and Palestinians (Moslems and Christians) to live in a democratic, secular state that ensures the freedom, equality and integrity of all its citizens.

	Yes	*No*	*Abstain*
(1)	*40*	*29*	*5*
(2)	*42*	*28*	*4*

Mid-East People-to-People Program; *Minority Report*

6.3e *We endorse and support the rightful aspirations of Palestinians as of all peoples everywhere to political and national identity. We condemn and oppose the use of terrorism—that is violence directed against non-combatant civilians—to achieve these or any other aspirations.*

Presently the Palestinian people regard as their principal means for recognition fighting oppressive Arab and Israeli regimes. Though we appreciate those efforts taken by nation-states, we believe that immediate initiatives must be taken on a people-to-people basis to promote a meaningful co-existence politically, culturally, and economically, of all peoples of the Middle East.
Yes 28; No 43; Abstain 5.

Terrorist Tactics; *Minority Report*

6.3f Let it be known that the White House Conference on Youth strongly condemns the murdering and shooting of women, children, and other unarmed civilians. We, therefore, condemn the tactics of the Palestinian terrorists, whose constant target is the innocent civilian. *Yes 33; No 34; Abstain 9.*

UN Conference on Human Rights; *Minority Report*

6.3g Citing the first resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Human Rights, we condemn the destruction of homes, dispossession of property and inhuman practices of Israeli authorities in occupied territories and demand their compliance and respect of the Declaration of Human Rights and rules of the Geneva Convention of which Israel is a signatory. *Yes* 27; *No* 41; *Abstain* 5.

Arms Control Resolution

6.4 Whereas the arms race has continued unabated for more than two decades with the nations of the world, spending literally hundreds of billions of dollars on armaments, we call upon our national leadership and the leaders of other major powers to critically examine the balance of power philosophy and the accompanying threat system as practiced by all nations which forces them to expend much of their human and material resources on war and national defense. As youth, most of us have lived our lives under the shadow of nuclear annihilation. We ask, is there not another way to achieve peace and security?

We are particularly concerned about recent escalations in the nuclear arms race with the development of MIRV (multiple independently targetable warheads) and ABM (anti-ballistic missiles).

1. *The U.S. should accept the Soviet Union's proposal for a freeze on further deployment of ABM systems, on condition that negotiations proceed on a ban on further deployments of offensive strategic nuclear weapon systems.*

2. The U.S. should announce an immediate and unilateral suspension of MIRV flight tests and call upon the Soviet Union to do likewise, pending the outcome of negotiations on a limitation on offensive systems under the preceding paragraph.

3. The U.S. should announce an immediate and unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapon tests, call upon the Soviet Union to do likewise and to enter into an exchange of technical data regarding the detection of underground nuclear explosions, and negotiate a treaty which would ban all underground nuclear weapon tests, in addition to those in the atmosphere, outer space and under water which are already banned under the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

4. The U.S. should propose that the United Kingdom, France and the Peoples Republic of China be invited to join the U.S. and Soviet Union in Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), on the understanding that multilateral talks would proceed on this basis without prejudice to the continuation of bilateral negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet Union.

But, strategic weapons are not the only ones which should be subject to international control. The arms trade business has resulted in a massive proliferation of conventional weapons in the less developed countries of the world. These weapons have been used to kill and maim hundreds of thousands of human beings. The United States and other nations are profiting from the sale of weapons abroad. This should be stopped. We urge that the United States take an initiative in pressuring other nations to agree to a multi-lateral moratorium on arms transfers so that effective steps toward disarmament can be undertaken.

Finally, we would recommend that the Senate ratify the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning the use in warfare of chemical and biological weapons without reservation. If ratified, the United States would then join 95 other nations, including all the major powers, in supporting this Treaty. *Yes 60; No 22; Abstain 5.*

Human Rights Resolution

6.5 The United States is committed to the protection and promotion of human rights both under its own Constitution and laws, and through its Charter membership in the United Nations.

The Task Force strongly supports the implementation of this commitment and urges the President and Senate to approve and ratify the several human rights conventions which have been presented to the nations of the world in anticipation of developing an international code of conduct in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These include: 1) the UN Genocide Convention now waiting Senate debate, and also ILO and UNESCO Conventions binding states that ratify them; 2) to grant women political rights equal to those of men; 3) to prevent discrimination in employment and occupations; 4) to give equal remuneration for work of equal values for men and women; 5) to eliminate discrimination in education; and 6) to guarantee civil and political rights to all persons without regard to race, religion, class, political beliefs or sex.

We further urge the United States to use its influence in the international forum to speak out against the violation of human rights in every nation and to join in international efforts to secure the implementation of human rights for all peoples in the world, regardless of race, religion, political views, class, sex, for all the oppressed.

While all issues of human freedom rightly concern us, we speak out here on certain areas of specific concern.

Genocide Convention

6.5a Twenty-three years have passed since the United Nations General Assembly passed the Genocide Convention, outlawing genocide and making it a crime against all humanity.

Virtually every major nation on earth has ratified this document. At the moment, however, the treaty's future in the Senate as a whole remains very much in doubt.

The White House Conference on Youth calls on President Nixon, the leaders of both parties in the Senate, and all national opinion holders to work for a speedy ratification of this document.

International Exploitation

6.5b We deplore the exploitation of one nation by another, whether in the form of colonialism, neo-colonialism or imperialism. We cite as examples of these phenomena, the continued existence of Portugal's African and Asian colonies, Soviet domination of its East European bloc and the Baltic States, and the control of Nambia (S.W. Africa) by the Republic of South Africa.

We therefore strongly endorse the United Nations termination of South Africa's mandate over Nambia and the United Nations Resolution on the granting of independence to colonial peoples (passed December 17, 1970). We urge the United States not only to support actively these particular proposals, but also to put an end to all forms of international exploitation whether committed by other nations or by itself.

Apartheid and South Africa

6.5c The repressive racist regime of the Republic of South Africa has earned the proper condemnation of the civilized world. The policy of Apartheid, of forced racial separation and separate development, is merely a euphemism for a form of virulent racism unrivaled anywhere in earth.

We call on the government of South Africa to rejoin the family of democratic nations by immediately doing away with this discredited policy, by abolishing its detention and bill of attainder acts that violate international norms for civil and political rights and by allowing universal free suffrage so that the people of South Africa may decide their own future.

We demand that the government of the United States take every step commensurate with the requisite United Nations resolutions to influence the government of South Africa.

Soviet Jewry

6.5d Despite its great progress in technological and scientific matters the Soviet Union's record in the realm of minority protection harkens back to the days of Czarist oppression.

Soviet Jews, in particular, are denied the most rudimentary elements of religious life and civil liberties while their ethnic identity is ruthlessly stifled. They are singled out for harsh and unjust treatment in every realm of Soviet life.

We call on the leadership of the Soviet Union to treat its Jewish citizens in accordance with the rights guaranteed to all by the Soviet Constitution, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the Communist Party program. Religious freedom, the right to teach and be taught, and the right to emigrate are birthrights of all men everywhere.

We urge the government of the United States to use its good offices and those of the United Nations is an effort to alleviate the plight of Soviet Jewry. Yes 70; No 12; Abstain 5.

United Nations; Reforms

6.6 Whereas most human problems now have global dimensions that obviously will not yield to partial, national, or piecemeal approaches; and

Whereas global problems, i.e., ecology, poverty, war, population, human rights, and disease require global solutions; and

Whereas the U.N. has shown itself to be an effective and vital force in bringing about social, economic, and humanitarian change but still does not have the authority to cope effectively with many of the momentous problems facing mankind and his world; and

Whereas a strengthened United Nations could become an effective international authority to implement agreed upon law at the plenary levels in matters as national, provincial, or state and local levels do now:

Therefore be it Resolved, That we, the Foreign Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth, commend the decisions of the United Nations;

a. To consider reform of the procedures of the General Assembly;

b. To study in 1971 the views of member States on the role of the International Court of Justice;

c. To study in 1972 the views of member States on the need to consider proposals for reviewing the Charter of the United Nations.

We further urge that the U.N., in its study of possible Charter revision, place particular emphasis on the question of voting procedures in the Security Council and General Assembly.

These decisions represent a timely response to the conviction of the great majority of States that the United Nations must be improved and given greater responsibility in the conduct of world affairs.

We specifically request that the President of the United States initiate high level studies in the executive branch of the government to determine what changes should be made in the Charter of the U.N. in order to make it a more effective force in the pursuit of a just and lasting peace and for the advancement of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The President is further requested to report to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives before March 31, 1972, the results of such studies.

The government of the United States is requested to support the formal calling of a conference to review the U.N. Charter in accordance with article 109 of the Charter, not later than 1974. *Yes 67; No 7; Abstain 8.*

Security Council

6.6a In many instances it has not been possible for the Security Council to give effect to its decisions or even to reach decisions on matters of the utmost importance to the international community. There are several possible approaches to enhancing the decision-making authority and ability of the Security Council. These approaches include enlargement of the number of permanent members of the Security Council by including such countries as India and Japan, thus reflecting more accurately the present distribution of political and economic power. *Yes 42; No 26; Abstain 9.*

Conciliation

6.6b Because there is no provision in the U.N. for mechanisms aiding in the peaceful settlements of political disputes through arbitration or negotiation, we recommend the establishment of a United Nations Conciliation Commission. The Conciliation Commission would enable parties to avoid representation before the Security Council or other U.N. bodies where the tendency had been to fix blame, condemn, or impose penalties on one of the parties involved in the dispute.

In addition, the development of a corps of trained U.N. civil mediators could be called upon to assist in the settlement of local disputes and their terms of reference set forth. *Yes 48; No 26; Abstain 8.*

Peacekeeping

6.6c The primary responsibility of the U.N. is the maintenance of international peace and security. This role has not been satisfactorily fulfilled primarily due to the lack of adequate peacekeeping machinery and the prevalence of nationalistic attitudes of States.

The benefits of multilateral efforts are many, not only in regard to confining international conflict but also in terms of providing an alternative to unilateral action which may be costly in terms of international respect and physical resources.

We advocate that the following related measures be considered to improve the United Nation's peacekeeping capabilities:

1. Agreement should be sought among U.N. members on a definition of U.N. peacekeeping operations and on rules to govern the deployment and withdrawal of U.N. forces, their proper and effective use, and their financing by an equitable assessment formula. A significantly large peacekeeping fund should be immediately established to assure that there are sufficient funds on hand to guarantee long term financing of this operation.

2. U.N. peacekeeping forces should be composed of specially trained, nationally recruited contingents from States other than the permanent members of the Security Council. *Yes 48; No 27; Abstain 7.*

Universal Membership

6.6d Membership in the United Nations should be universal and the jurisdiction of the United Nations, as defined in the Charter, should equally be universal. Although we are cognizant of the political problems involved in the question of divided States, we advocate their admission into the United Nations as soon as possible contingent on their desire to assume membership.

Associate Membership; Small States

6.6e In this day and age we no longer regard membership in the United Nations as a mere privilege but as a duty. Realistically speaking, however, we advocate the exploration of providing a separate associate status for those countries that are so limited in their geographic area and resources that they are unable to fulfill the responsibility related to membership. Associate status would exempt these states from the usual financial obligations but they would receive all other membership benefits except the vote.

Financing

6.6f In order that the United Nations may adequately discharge the responsibilities which it has been assigned and will not be dependent on the good will of the governments of member States, it must have at its disposal its own independent financial resources.

We advocate the exploration of a U.N. tax on the exploitation of the sea bed and outer-space; i.e., on those resources which would be regarded as belonging to all mankind.

We further advocate that the United Nations' Special Account, established for the collection of private and corporate donations, be given widespread publicity. *Yes 56; No 18; Abstain 8.*

Accept World Court Decisions

6.6g International Court of Justice. The World Court is presently in a state of disuse. The reasons are several but fundamentally it is the historic conflict between the sovereignty of the nations and the jurisdiction of the Court.

As a first step toward overcoming the problem, we recommend the U.S. rescind the Connally Reservation. *We also urge that the U.S. join other nations in accepting the decisions of the Court as binding. Yes 53; No 19; Abstain 11.*

Peaceful Uses and Economic Development of the Oceans

6.7 Nations now have the technological ability and the political, economic and military incentives to occupy and exploit the ocean. If the seas are to remain viable, their waters must be treated as an ecological whole consisting of many interdependent life processes and must be proclaimed the "common heritage of mankind."

We commend the United States State Department's forward looking "Draft United Nations Convention on the International Sea Bed Area," and urge its support in all branches of our government. Although we do not believe that intermediary trusteeships favoring coastal States should be established, we are especially heartened by the support of our government for a United Nations International Sea Bed Resource Authority with enforceable powers. *Passed unanimously*

Environment; U.N.

6.8 The closed system of Earth and its atmosphere is being drastically affected by unforeseen consequences of our modern technology, made far worse by threat of overpopulation. These threats to the environment create an urgent need for international controls.

We applaud the action of the United Nations in planning a "United Nations Conference on the Environment" in Stockholm in 1972. We urge those preparing for the conference to think in bold terms commensurate with the dangers we face.

We urge the United States to intensify its internal efforts to cut pollution, preserve our natural resources, stabilize our population, and protect our environment; to offer assistance to all nations in meeting these problems; and to back United Nations efforts to alert mankind to these dangers and to develop and publish suitable guidelines.

We further recommend that the United States take a leading role in efforts to establish a United Nations Environmental Agency whose task it would be to initiate, coordinate and oversee all environmental programs of an international nature. Yes 71; No 8; Abstain 4.

Resolutions on China

6.9 Whereas the promotion of a lasting peace in Asia, including a stable resolution of the conflicts in Indochina, requires a normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China; and

Whereas the Nixon Administration has responded promptly and constructively to the recent initiatives of the People's Republic of China to promote freer contact between citizens of the two countries;

Be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the White House Conference on Youth that the United States Government be commended for its rapid and positive response to initial communist Chinese overtures; and

Be it Resolved, That the Conference urges the United States government to seize every possible opportunity to promote better relations with the People's Republic of China, culminating in recognition and the establishment of full diplomatic relations. We agree with the President that "there is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation." *Yes 59; No 21; Abstain 3.*

China
Minority Report

6.9a The Task Force resolves that the President of the U.S. seek negotiations toward the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, and that he publicly announce that the U.S. is prepared, through negotiations, to recognize the P.R.C.

It is further resolved that the U.S. should support a resolution acknowledging the fact that the P.R.C. is the effective government of mainland China and therefore entitled to be the sole representative of China in the General Assembly and Security Council.

The Task Force, in addition, recognizes that eventual resolution of the future identity and political status of Taiwan is neither the unilateral responsibility nor within the power of the U.S. We believe, however, that the U.S. can contribute to a solution by seeking possible step-by-step solutions, on a multilateral basis.

In keeping with the emphasis on multilateral endeavors, we urge the U.S. government to adopt a stance which would permit and encourage long range peaceful resolution of these difficulties. Such a stance should include cessation of "Vietnam surplus" arms and other small arms to the Republic of China and a carefully termed reduction of U.S. military assistance to, and presence on, Taiwan. *Yes 36; No 44.*

Panama Canal Policies

6.10 The present existing problem in the Panama Canal Zone is a unique situation. To be specific, the type of discrimination in the United States is not really relevant in the Panama Canal Zone.

It is undoubtedly a true fact that such a thing as discrimination exists but in a more subtle manner.

The discriminatory problem lies in equal job opportunities and equal education.

What we are concerned about as a group is humanitarian rights which are not completely exercised in the Panama Canal Zone.

The status of the Panama Canal Zone as a nation is a very technical and argumentative situation. Most people really do not have any knowledge about the Panama Canal Zone. It has a large historical background which would take days or weeks to expound.

The primary objective here is to make everyone aware of serious problems concerning Panamanians in the Canal Zone, in relation to the foreign policies exercised by the United States government and the Republic of Panama.

As indicated earlier, we would like to see some changes in the United States foreign policies, specifically in equal opportunities and education.

There are a lot of obvious things that show how discriminatory the United States is in relation to the black Panamanians.

Therefore, the following resolution to Panama's foreign problem with the United States is proposed:

1. That the United States review its present policies governing jobs, education and opportunities for Panamanians in the Panama Canal Zone.

2. That a serious revision be made to the present Civil Service Commission laws that are being exercised in a foreign country. *Yes 49; No 15; Abstain 8.*

World and Domestic Policies; Diplomatic Recognition

6.11 Recognizing that communication among nations is an essential first step toward the achievement of mutual respect for, and understanding of, other peoples; and

Recognizing that diplomatic recognition is an indispensable step in furthering such communication; and

Recognizing that such ideas as the Wilsonian concept of diplomatic recognition as is exemplified in the Stimson Doctrine are dangerously naive and inaccurate in their perception of real power in the world today:

Be it therefore Resolved, That the United States establish diplomatic relations with the governments of all nations which are well established and clearly in control of the people within their boundaries. Such recognition shall not be construed to indicate support for, or disapproved of, a particular regime.

Exceptions to this policy are valid only in those circumstances where a regime is so abhorrent to the community of nations, as is the case with regard to Zimbabue, the U.N. decide to invoke diplomatic sanctions. *Yes 53; No 22; Abstain 1.*

Restructure Priorities

6.11a Resolved, That if the White House is serious about a generation of peace, the Administration and the Congress take steps to initiate a fundamental change in our economic priorities away from arms production and war materiel and toward international exchange, food programs, housing, health care, education, and environmental protection. In order to implement this, we *recommend a reduction of 25 percent in our defense spending for next year from present levels and the immediate initiation or steps toward the implementation of a peacetime economy. Yes 45; No 23; Abstain 3.*

Clandestine Operations

6.11b Whereas the White House Conference on Youth recognizes that the United States, like all nations, has interests to be acknowledged and defended; and

Whereas the Conference regards these interests as best served by open diplomatic and economic measures:

Be it Resolved, That the Conference condemns the resort to clandestine political and military operations; advocates as a general principle military non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations; and recommends that in every case of internal conflict, our government should initiate negotiations with all parties a policy of universal military and paramilitary non-interference with the internal affairs of other nations. *Yes 76; No 14; Abstain 6.*

Rename DOD

6.11c Resolved, That the United States Defense Department be renamed the War Department. Yes *56; No 34; Abstain 3.*

DOD Educational Programs

6.11d The Department of Defense, due to its vested interest in war preparedness, should *not* produce educational material on foreign relations designed for public and troop consumption. Yes *49; No 42; Abstain 3.*

Pakistan Military Conduct

6.11e Whereas the Government of Pakistan has utilized brutal force to suppress insurgency in East Pakistan resulting in the massacre of the civilian population of East Pakistan:

Be it Resolved, That the White House Conference on Youth strongly condemns the military conduct of the Government of Pakistan. *Yes 58; No 28; Abstain 5.*

European Nuclear Free Zone

6.11f Resolved, The White House Conference on Youth encourages the convening of an all-European security conference that would propose the mutual withdrawal of Russian and American troops from Europe and the establishment of a nuclear free zone in Central Europe. Yes *49; No 38; Abstain 5.*

Sudan

6.11g Let it be Resolved that the White House Conference on Youth condemns and deplores the massacre which took place in Sudan by the Sudanese Government against the non-Moslem people in South Sudan. Yes *48; No 31; Abstain 9.*

Limit Forces to 1 Million
Minority Report

6.11h Reduction of United States armed forces to a maximum of one million men in order to avoid future Vietnams and to lessen the ability to intervene militarily in other nations. Yes *33; No 53; Abstain 4.*

Re-channel Funds
Minority Report

6.11i Whereas the purpose of American foreign economic assistance is to assist recipient nations; and

Whereas the tying of American economic foreign assistance to considerations of national interest distorts the purpose of foreign assistance:

Be it Resolved, That the White House Conference on Youth supports the re-channelling of all United States bilateral foreign economic assistance to multilateral agencies under the auspices of the United Nations and the consequent termination of all bilateral foreign economic assistance. Yes *41; No 47; Abstain 5.*

Economic Priorities
Minority Report

6.11j Resolved, That if the White House is serious about a generation of peace, the Administration and the Congress take steps to initiate a fundamental change in our economic priorities away from arms production and war materiel and toward international exchange, food programs, housing, health care, education, and environmental protection. In order to implement this, we recommend a reduction of 50 percent in our defense spending for next year from present levels. Yes *42; No 43; Abstain 9.*

U. S. Alliances
Minority Report

6.11k Whereas, the assumptions under which many U.S. alliances have been created are no longer realistic:

We therefore propose the disbanding or re-negotiating of all formal military alliances in which the U.S. participates; i.e., NATO, SEATO, ANZUS, Rio Pact, and informal military alliances such as CENTO, the Middle East Resolution, the military relationship with Spain and all informal military alliances which would involve and imply automatic U.S. participation. This does not preclude formation of future military alliances, either bi- or multi-laterally on the condition that these are re-negotiable, as formal treaties, every 5 years. *Yes 24; No 41; Abstain 9.*

Pakistan Military
Conduct
Minority Report

6.11l Whereas the Government of Pakistan has utilized brutal force to suppress insurgency in East Pakistan resulting in the massacre of the civilian population of East Pakistan:

Be it Resolved, that the White House Conference on Youth urges the United States Government to strongly condemn the military conduct of the Government of Pakistan. *Yes 36; No 49; Abstain 4.*

Sudan
Minority Report

611m We, the participants in the White House Conference on Youth, urge the United States Government to condemn the Sudanese Government for the slaughter of the non-Moslem people of South Sudan. *Yes 35; No 45; Abstain 12.*

Economic Policy;
Endorse Pearson
Commission Report

6.12 Resolved: That the Task Force on Foreign Relations strongly endorses the conclusions and recommendations of the report of the Pearson Commission, "Partners in Development." *Yes 51; No 11; Abstain 6.*

No Punitive Action
Against Expropriations

6.12a We urge that national integrities be respected and that the U.S. will not take punitive action against a foreign country which expropriates or takes economic action against U.S. foreign investment.

Repeal Hickenlooper
Amendment

6.12b Resolved: We urge the repeal of statutes such as the Hickenlooper Amendment which legally bind aspects of American foreign policy to American private investment abroad. Task Force vote on 6.12a and 6.12b: *Yes 35; No 31; Abstain 6.*

Promote Private
Investment

6.12c Resolved: The U.S. should promote U.S. private investment in less developed countries with aid of international organizations, (i.e., International insurance policy);

That a substantial interest of the corporation be controlled by the people in the host country;

That such investment should aid economic development of the host country through local employment of human and natural resources; and

Concluding that a specific percentage of the profit, determined by negotiation between the host country and the corporation, be reinvested for the economic development of the people through technical and capital transfer to less developed countries. *Yes 35; No 18; Abstain 5.*

Lift Trade
Restrictions

6.12d The Foreign and Economic Policy Workshop urges the immediate lifting of all punitive U.S. trade restrictions and economic restraints imposed on socialist countries.

We are opposed to the economic blockade of Cuba, and further urge that Cuba be admitted back into the OAS. We applaud the recent moves to facilitate trade between the U.S. and The People's Republic of China. *Yes 43; No 27; Abstain 3.*

Public Opinion; Press Conference

6.13 Resolved: The delegates to the White House Conference on Youth request the President to hold a prime-time televised Presidential press conference, informing the American public of the resolutions reached in the plenary session of the White House Conference on Youth.

Dissatisfaction with Information

6.13a Resolved: The youth of America formally register their dissatisfaction with the credibility, quality, and quantity of information reaching the public, especially in the area of U.S. foreign relations.

Youth Liaison with Congress

6.13b Resolved: That each Congressman shall have a systematic liaison with concerned youth of his constituency for the purpose of the exchange of information on the priorities of youth.

	Yes	*No*	*Abstain*	*Total*
6.13	55	25	5	80
6.13a	66	14	6	80
6.13b	51	28	5	79

Education in Foreign Affairs

6.13c Resolved: That the teaching of international relations in the elementary and secondary schools be implemented, expanded and improved.

a. Language classes should include culture, history, religion, etc. of that language area.

b. Bilingual programs not only are of obvious value to the population involved, but they offer as well an expanded view of world horizons and an appreciation of foreign peoples and cultures to a community's exclusively English-speaking members. This is an important secondary gain to be recognized and exploited.

c. Secondary school government and history classes should include a study of U.S. Government agencies, international law and international agencies.

d. The view of world problems should be expanded with emphasis on mutual respect and the means by which to solve the problems.

Resolved: That long-term commitment be made to these projects.

Resolved: That the funding of the Institute of International Studies be expanded to permit development of curriculum materials in international and intra-cultural studies for elementary and secondary schools. In addition, we recommend that additional emphasis be placed on publication of American intra-cultural study materials.

International Education

6.13d Resolved: That the International Education Act should be extended and fully funded.

Resolved: That there is an urgent need for expansion of meaningful and significant exchange of youth within the world community. There should be a mechanism established that shall provide for:

a. Development of programs that emphasize life styles of countries rather than the tourist overview.

b. Expansion of educational exchange in all fields of study to be taken in a foreign environment in order to promote an international orientation.

c. Expansion of international input by inviting more foreign professionals and students on temporary assignments.

Media Programming

6.13e Resolved: That more background and analytical programs on international relations should be produced and broadcast on public and commercial mass media.

a. Documentaries should take an objective and analytical overview of each area discussed.

b. The Public Broadcasting Corporation should be encouraged to support and devise analytical, in-depth programs on international affairs.

Resolved: That a National Youth Mass Media Council should be established for the purpose of input on local programming and international coverage.

a. Youth exercise influence in content of programming.

b. Youth should be responsible for expanding participation in productions for local programming.

Local Activity

6.13f The committee recommends that youth take the initiative in their local communities to instigate informal study and discussion groups on international relations, giving special emphasis to participation and leadership by youth; and that the WHCY delegates take the responsibility for generating this interest in cooperating with existing organizations.

Sections 6.9c-6.9f passed Yes 76; No 7; Abstain 2.

WHCY Implementation Committee Needed

6.14 As youth becomes more involved in world affairs the need for recognition becomes increasingly necessary. Acknowledgement of the young in the form of a conference once every ten years is simply not enough to maintain a realistic contact with youth. Communication and interchange must be a continuing process. The structure for an agency which would continue the White House Conference on Youth process must have the ability to follow up the 1971 White House Conference on Youth with implementation of the recommendations and resolutions submitted by the Conference group. It must also have facilities to keep in touch with the opinions of the young through such means as Outreach and national polling organizations.

Resolved: That an Interim Steering Committee for the White House Conference continuation and follow-up be established for approximately one year.

A. Purpose of the Committee

1. To work in conjunction with the Conference staff and the executive department in implementing Conference recommendations and resolutions.

2. To act as representatives of Conference delegates offering explanations and clarifications of the Conference reports and recommendations.

B. Membership Composition

1. This committee should be composed of two (2) adult and three (3) youth delegates from each Task Force.

2. The youth delegates should include all ten (10) youth Co-chairpeople. These persons will select the remaining youth delegates from Task Force sub-group leaders.

3. The adults will be selected by the youth members of the Committee.

Resolved: That this Conference Interim Committee in their follow-up activities establish a *National Youth Foundation.*

A. National Youth Foundation will serve at the national level and whenever possible at the local level as a means of obtaining and publicizing youth opinions, ideas and proposals on national and international issues and policies.

B. All youth delegates to the 1971 White House Conference on Youth will be charter members of the National Youth Foundation.

C. The Interim Steering Committee of the White House Conference on Youth will draft a charter for the Foundation submitting it to the members for ratification by a majority vote.

D. In designing this Foundation, the need for a demographic representation of a diverse youth population, with special consideration of ethnic and minority groups, must be considered.

Resolved: That in order to develop more adequate information and more effective youth impact on international affairs, delegates to this Conference are urged to work with and seek to strengthen existing voluntary organizations such as United Nation Associations, U.S.A., Council on International Relations and UN Affairs (CIRUNA) and world affairs councils at both the national and local levels. *Passed by voice vote.*

18-Year-Old Vote and Community Politics

6.15 The power of the people rests in the power to vote. The majority of the population are the "young." The "ballot box" is the best influence on foreign policy.

We think that organizations of Youth Voter's Leagues in states that have lowered the voting age to eighteen should be organized and funded through private constituencies. The leagues organized by blacks throughout the country have been somewhat effective.

Young people need to be informed of political procedures. Very few know what revolves in a political wheel. We feel this is why most demonstrations fail to get a positive response. Some type of political organization should be formed to make them aware of these things. We cannot wait for the government to aid our programs, but begin working ourselves.

Resolved: That individual delegates from the Conference returning to their various communities, be responsible for leading the movement and organizing community action groups to get out the young vote. A central liaison body should be established, and information should be elicited from such organizations as "Common Cause" through Mr. Gardner, National League of Women Voters, and Black League of Voters. Yes *48; No 34; Abstain 2.*

Individual Rights;
Minority Report

6.16 Whereas every man has the right to his own life and the product of his labor; and

Whereas no individual or institution has the right to take money (property) from any individual without approval; and

Whereas no individual or institution has a right to prohibit voluntary association between men, that does not deny others their inalienable rights as human beings:

Be it Resolved, That the United States government end all unconditional tax collection for aid to the United Nations and underdeveloped Nations;

Furthermore, the U.S. government should limit importation taxes and end import quotas on non-strategic goods.
Yes 18; No 53; Abstain 5.

Legal Rights and Justice

The Legal Rights and Justice Task Force dedicates this report to Frederick H. Evans of Washington, D.C., who passed away on May 31, 1971. Fred was an energetic and conscientious member of our Task Force and his warm personality and delightful sense of humor will be remembered by us all.

The procedures used in developing this report were as follows: all recommendations were voted upon by the entire body of delegates, only after they were fully researched and reported out of committee. The minority report was not adopted by the entire body, but we feel that because these arguments were raised, they were valid enough for inclusion in our official record.

The additions, addendums, and exhibits attached to the recommendations were included to show not only background material but also are intended to show some of the bases for recommendations.

Preamble

The various recommendations emanating from this Task Force, as well as from various other Task Forces and groups of the Conference, will doubtless require sizeable allocation of national resources if they are to be implemented. Given prior experience concerning the actual implementation of stated objectives, we are concerned about the likely fate of our recommendations.

Regrettably, our society has a long and dismal history of verbalizing idealistic objectives while failing miserably to allocate resources toward the implementation of stated objectives. Such glaring discrepancies between rhetoric and reality are especially noteworthy in the juvenile and criminal justice systems. For example, the beneficent and humane objectives of the juvenile court philosophy of *parens patriae* have consisted essentially of good intentions distinctly unsupported by the actual realities to which juveniles are exposed. Similarly, it has been estimated that the cost of the entire Federal judicial system is somewhat less than that of a single sophisticated jet bomber.

Therefore, if we are to deal sincerely with the problems addressed by this task force and the conference as a whole, *it is essential that a basic re-ordering of national priorities be undertaken.*

However, to ensure that good intentions and rhetoric do not become substitutes for the actual implementation of program objectives, we strongly urge that some system of accountability be devised for monitoring and evaluating the adequacy and effectiveness of various social institutions and agencies.

National Laws; 18-Year-Old Vote

7.1 Whereas the emotional, political, and educational maturity of today's 18-year-old is greater now than at any time in the history of our country; and

Whereas today's 18-year-old is fully capable of handling the responsibilities of voting; and

Whereas the great expense of a dual voting age in the country may consume money that could be better spent;

Now therefore, the following resolution be, and hereby is adopted:

Be it resolved, that the participants in this White House Conference on Youth support the amendment to lower the voting age; and be it further

Resolved, That this Conference recommend that the legislatures of the following states seek passage of the amendment: Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming; and be it further

Resolved, That this Conference recommend that the legislature of aforementioned state legislatures at the earliest possible date.

National Laws; Direct Election of President

7.1a Recent Presidential elections have served to dramatize the urgency for Electoral College reform.

Under present electoral provisions, it is possible that the candidate who is *not* the popular choice of the people may be elected. There is the danger of an "unfaithful elector" thwarting the express wishes of the voters, and of the Congress, rather than the people, ultimately selecting the President and Vice President. In addition, the influence of an individual vote may vary depending on the geographic location of the voter.

Only the direct election of the President and Vice President will eliminate all of these dangers and assure the election of the popular choice of the voters.

To this end we recommend that the Congress approve, and the state legislatures ratify, an amendment to the Constitution providing for the abolition of the Electoral College and the establishment of direct election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

Lower Age of Majority to 18

7.1b Be it resolved that: It is the unqualified recommendation of the members of this Task Force that the age of majority be lowered to 18, granting our young citizens full rights and responsibilities and the opportunity to participate fully in our society.

We commend the Report of the Special Commission on the Age of Majority, established in Michigan by Governor William G. Milliken. This report, endorsed by the Governor, can serve as a foundation for future legislation throughout the country.

We recommend that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the governors and legislatures of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and all United States' territories and trust territories.

Corrections System Needs Revision

7.2 The quality of justice depends upon the nature of correctional institutions as well as precedents set by the courts. Recently, the rights and welfare of the individual in a free society have been carefully examined and safeguarded. Regrettably, a comparable concern and commitment of resources has not been shown for the criminal offender. Not surprisingly, recidivism has taken on alarming proportions. Clearly, the legal system must begin to exercise power beyond the interpretation and application of laws.

Correctional Institutions

7.2a We recommend that the following be required to regularly inspect the correctional facilities with which they are associated:

(1) Federal and state officials having administrative responsibility for such facilities;

(2) Legislators having budgetary responsibility for such facilities;

(3) Judges sentencing criminal defendants to such facilities;

(4) Attorneys involved in criminal prosecutions.

Authority for Prisoner Release

7.2b *We further recommend that there be created a high level correctional authority to release—conditionally or absolutely—prisoners at such time as such authority determines that a prisoner has been rehabilitated.* We further recommend that judges of original criminal jurisdiction facilitate such release by means of indeterminate sentencing within statutorily mandated limits. These limits should reflect an appropriate categorization of criminal offenses.

National Standards for Institutions

7.2c National standards for correctional institutions should be established. Basically, these standards should assure that no juvenile, youthful offender or adult be detained or incarcerated in a correctional institution that is unable to provide meaningful programs and satisfactory facilities. More specifically, national standards shall call for:

(1) Emphasis on the development and operation of community based correctional facilities and programs, including diagnostic services, half-way houses, probation, and other supervisory release programs for pre-adjudication and post-offenders, and first offenders, as well as community oriented programs for the supervision of parolees;

(2) The specification of minimum standards for physical facilities of correctional institutions;

(3) Separate facilities and programs for juveniles, youthful offenders, and adults.

Furthermore, the national standards shall specify qualifications in training for corrections personnel, minimum levels of pay, and a satisfactory means of securing and monitoring the compliance of each state to the provisions of the standards.

Federal Legislation and Compliance

7.2d We recommend enactment of Federal legislation to establish national standards for correctional institutions and programs. The legislation shall empower the Department of Justice to issue appropriate regulations to carry out the provisions of the Act and monitor compliance by the states. The Department of Justice shall appoint a National Advisory Board, composed of representatives of national organizations concerned with corrections reform, to assist in developing appropriate regulations.

Following enactment of the national standards, the states and local communities shall be allotted a reasonable length of time, specified by the legislation, to inspect correctional institutions within their jurisdiction and initiate necessary reforms.

Subsequently, the Department of Justice shall conduct an annual review of correctional institutions and issue a report to the President, Congress, and the Governor of each state. This report shall indicate the degree to which each institution has complied with the national standards. If, after notice of a reasonable length of time in which to comply, the institution remains in non-compliance, no offender may be detained or incarcerated in such an institution, and Federal funds shall be withheld.

In addition, we urge public defenders, community legal services, and the legal profession at large to bring suit against prisons and prison officials on the grounds that serving sentences in many correctional institutions not only constitutes cruel and unusual punishment proscribed by the Eighth Amendment, but also violates the positive statutory duty to provide rehabilitation.

Court Reform and Legal Service

7.3 Courts which are understaffed encourage inadequate judicial determination of particular cases; shortage of probation officers results in a lack of careful individualized disposition; woefully inadequate numbers of legal aid services and public defenders deprive poor people of a fair and just adjudication of these cases.

We recommend that the judicial system be funded to increase the number of judges and supporting services, including legal aid services and public defenders to help insure a fair and just disposition and adjudication of every case. The judicial system today is not adequately equipped to deal with the magnitude of the problems before it. We further recommend the following strategy:

(a) urge Congress to enlarge the appropriations for the operation of the Federal judicial system to permit, among other needs, increasing the number of judges and probation officers;
(b) urge the individual states to enlarge their appropriations for the aforementioned items, in addition to increasing the number of state public defenders and legal aid programs;
(c) urge that state planning agencies re-allocate Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds to give greater priority to programs aimed at prevention of delinquency and crime, and improvement of adult and juvenile and rehabilitation programs.

Access to Lawyers

7.3a We believe that Americans of all ages should have access to lawyers. Therefore, *we recommend that the necessary public funds be appropriated to provide partially subsidized legal services.* The lawyers who provide these services should be responsible only to their clients and not to political pressures. Funds to particular programs should not be discontinued for political reasons. *We are deeply concerned about recent attempts to cut off funds to publicly funded legal service programs. Consequently, we recommend that the power of executives to veto specific programs be abolished by Federal statute.*

Pre-Indictment Release

7.3b *A system of pre-indictment release is recommended for first offenders, those with minimal police records and those who apparently will receive probation anyway.* If the prosecutor and court agree that the defendant is not a threat to the community, the defendant may be placed on probation until his trial comes up, rather than waiting in prison.

Sanctions for Trial Delays

7.3c We recommend that sanctions be imposed on parties responsible for unsatisfactorily explained delays in criminal proceedings. These sanctions might be provided by court rule or legislation.

Minority Report on Sanctions for Delay

7.3d The pace of justice in both state and Federal courts has become slow and unsure. Extensive reform is needed to end the delays. A large number of the delays in court are the result of adjournments, lateness, and non-appearance. To reduce the occurrence of these events, *we propose the following sanctions:*

1. One non-appearance or lateness by the defendant, which causes an adjournment and has no reasonable excuse, shall result in the forfeiture of bail or the fixation of bail if the defendant had previously been released on his own recognizance.

2. If without legitimate reason the prosecution is not with its case on two occasions, the charges shall be dismissed for lack of prosecution.

3. If without legitimate reason the defense is not ready with its case on two occasions, the case shall be moved to trial or hearing.

4. If a police officer is late or fails to report without a legitimate reason, the court shall notify his commanding officer.

"Human Justice"

7.3e The Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice resolves that it is important for the development of a fuller future for us all that we substitute, as soon as possible, the term "human justice" for the presently used terms "criminal justice" and "juvenile justice."

We would further recommend that the concept and practice of human justice be applied beyond police, courts and corrections to all other institutions which attempt to fulfill the promises made to the people of the United States of America.

Abolish Capital Punishment

7.4 *We recommend that Federal and state law be amended to abolish capital punishment.*

Criminal Law Reforms

7.5 We further recommend the enactment of Federal law to require registration of all firearms; and to establish uniform national minimum standards for licensing firearms ownership and use. These provisions to be enforced by individual state governments.

We further recommend that any criminal sanctions for all types of private consensual sexual conduct between adults be abolished.

We further recommend that there be enactment of Federal legislation to make willful deprivation of civil rights by economic coercion—as well as by force and violence—a criminal offense. By this, we mean that the use of economic pressure or means to punish an individual for or deter an individual from exercising his or her civil rights shall be prohibited.

Crimes Without Victims

7.6 A significant body of our criminal law—local, state, and Federal—concerns itself with criminal activities involving purely voluntary participants. These are widely termed "crimes without victims." Many people, and especially young people, object to laws proscribing such activities on the grounds that individuals should be free to do as they choose so long as they do not infringe on the freedoms of others. But there are practical grounds as well for challenging many of these laws. Law, in general, can be a flimsy defense against certain unapproved behavior; sometimes it actually encourages the outlawed practice and worsens its consequences. If an activity is slightly risky under the best and most controlled of situations, it can be perilously so when placed in the grips of an irresponsible underworld apparatus. Thus, the man who solicits an illegal prostitute is also buying a high probability of being conned, beaten, robbed, or infected with venereal disease. These are all dangers nobody would make light of; yet they are introduced into the economy of prostitution by our desire to prohibit a practice which we are clearly far from unanimous in condemning (if there were no dissenters, after all, it could not survive).

Other such crimes include drug abuse, sexual deviation, pornography, obscenity, gambling, and birth control (and arguably, abortions). We propose a set of guidelines for making the law a positive and productive instrument in these areas, rather than merely a compounder of the problem.

Specially Zoned Areas

7.6a *We recommend that practices which have not been objectively demonstrated to do serious injury be licensed and controlled as any other business*, the controls to give special attention to protecting the customer or participant and to insulating from the activity all those who wish not to be exposed to it. Thus prostitutes and pornographers could operate in specially zoned areas or entirely without public display and promotion.

Drugs or Food Additives

7.6b We recommend that the controls to be placed on the manufacture and dissemination of a drug or food additive be decided solely according to the degree and likelihood of injury it may cause, and without regard to the kinds of social circles in which use of a given substance enjoys popularity. *If alcohol is to be publicly available (and our experience with prohibition indicates it ought to be), then there can be no grounds for outlawing a drug unless its dangers appear to be more serious than those of alcohol.*

Birth Control

7.6c We recommend that all laws restricting acceptable kinds of birth control, or seriously discouraging birth control through excessive controls, be repealed.

Abortions

7.6d We recommend that, so far as our criminal laws are concerned, a woman should be free to determine for herself her own reproductive life. Therefore, *all laws prohibiting abortions should be repealed.*

Publicity

7.6e Where an activity or a drug has been shown to do serious injury, whether or not that injury is eventually deemed sufficient to justify prohibition, publicity should be a major weapon wielded against it. The fluctuating economic fortunes of the birth control pill are an indication that openness can be as powerful a weapon as criminal restraints.

Consenting Adults

7.6f *We reiterate our opposition to all laws coverning private, consentual sex between adults.* At best, such regulations are a comic anachronism; at worst they drain off time from legitimate law enforcement activities and constitute an unconscionable interference with personal liberty.

"No Smoking Car" Approach

In short, we recommend a "no smoking car" approach to some of these questions, legalizing a practice so as to protect innocent persons from its real or fancied effects. In some areas, this will involve a complex system of controls; in some, possibly no controls at all. But in general, we believe that legal restrictions placed on voluntary criminal transactions ought to reflect a balance of the following factors:

(1) Objective harm caused by the practice;

(2) Effects on persons other than direct participants;

(3) Practicality of eliminating it; and

(4) The projected consequences of controlled legalization in terms of cutting underworld income and generating new tax dollars.

In suggesting such a massive reconsideration of criminal statutes, we necessarily call upon such nationwide bodies as the American Bar Association to consider and codify the broad recommendations made here, and to work along with other groups and individuals toward their implementation at all levels. We do not claim that the changes set forth above will be the final answer to these nagging questions. But if Americans as a whole are to regain a common threshold of respect for our laws and the institutions that administer them, we will have to move quickly to redraw the statutes referred to above and others of a like nature. We soon will have had studies, reports, recommendations, and conferences enough.

Invasion of Privacy

7.7 There is a feeling among youth of an abrogation and diminution of civil rights in the United States, particularly with reference to conspiracy trials and surveillances by various government agencies of the activities of politicians, political candidates, and politically active citizens, and those considered radicals (whether to the left or the right of the political spectrum). While we are concerned with repressive trials, the recommendations that follow do not address themselves to this issue, but rather to the methods by which information and evidence for possible prosecution are obtained.

Another aspect of the abuse of information gathering techniques and agencies is the passage of confidential information among and by commercial institutions, including insurance agencies, credit bureaus, loan companies, banks, promotional sales forces, etc., without the individual's consent. We believe that in many cases this constitutes an invasion of privacy.

It is our opinion that the practices of collecting confidential information have become uncontrollably widespread in this country. The offending agencies have inadequate, unrestrictive regulations placed on them, leaving the individual with very little means of redress to correct injustices which may result from these practices.

We therefore present the following recommendations to the Department of Justice, Congress, and the state legislatures to rectify this state of affairs.

Claims Processing

7.7a We recommend the establishment of governmental agencies (on the Federal and state levels) for the protection and expedition of claims processing in the area of invasion of privacy. The primary purpose of such an agency would be to aid the individual in protecting his rights as set forth in the Constitution, with particular reference to the Bill of Rights.

Judicial Tribunal

7.7b Furthermore, we recommend the establishment of judicial tribunals (under Article III of the Constitution) at Federal and state levels to enforce justice in the disposition of cases referring to infringement of such rights. In cases of questionable integrity and propriety of revealing information, where it could be detrimental to the welfare of the community, the information agency in question will be responsible to show due cause as to why such information should not be revealed to the individual.

Information Gathering

7.7c We recommend that strict regulatory codes be imposed on information gathering agencies with reference to the use of any electronic and/or mechanical means of gathering confidential information. Such codes should be drawn up with the purpose of protecting the rights of the individual citizens. The Federal and state legislatures, with the assistance of the government agency and judicial tribunal, will be responsible for creating and legislating means for the implementation of these codes.

Restrictions on Divulging Information

7.7d *We recommend that all commercial institutions and agencies be restricted from divulging any confidential information to any person(s) or agency without the first party consent of the individual concerned.* If violations of these restrictions occur, the institution which received the information should be compelled to inform the individual of the origin of that information. Severe sanctions should be imposed on those commercial institutions that reveal information without the party's consent. This administrative function will come under the protection agency outlined above.

Independent Review Board; FBI

7.8 It is alleged that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has evolved into an overreaching (unwarranted) institution engaged in indiscriminate spying and surveillance activities on law abiding and innocent citizens.

Charges of improper and expanding activities leveled against the FBI have generated a chilling effect that has resulted in a feeling of fear and intimidation among the youth, minorities, and a significant number of people in this nation and members of both houses of the United States Congress.

FBI investigations have smacked of political surveillance of citizens who express themselves by engaging in protesting public policies. Eavesdropping is not a legitimate function of the FBI where no crime or threat of crime or violence is involved.

To counteract the excessive zeal of the FBI and other civilian intelligence agencies, we propose the creation of an Independent Review Board composed of Congressmen, judges, lawyers, intelligence officers, laymen, university professors, and youth, all of equal representation.

The validity of all allegations leveled against the FBI is a question that needs to be answered by the Independent Review Board.

The purpose of the Board would be to monitor all government agencies which gather intelligence information on civilians as well as national civilian agencies performing similar functions.

The Board would issue an annual report and such other reports as deemed necessary and appropriate by its members. The Board should further be charged with recommending limitations on the scope of domestic intelligence by the FBI and other government and national civilian agencies.

In line with the above avowed purposes, said recommendations put forward by the Board should be reflected in support legislation. This legislation would include limitations on: (1) secret surveillance; (2) the maintenance of secret files; and (3) the use and accessibility of such secret files.

It is to be pointed out that the proper vehicle for such investigations as the proposed Board would undertake is not the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee. This subcommittee has little rapport with the Justice Department, which itself has constantly balked at undertaking such investigations.

Students' Rights and Responsibilities

7.9 Students, as the major constituency of educational institutions, should have a clear understanding of their rights and responsibilities in that context. These rights and responsibilities are rarely specified and students usually have little hand in the formation of rules governing their lives in these institutions. In order to correct this, this Task Force recommends the following:

(1) Statement of Rights. We recommend that each secondary school system, college or university, whether public, private, or public on a military reservation, with participation by all significant constituencies, such as students, teachers and administrators, devise a statement of the rights and responsibilities of students. This statement shall include:

(A) An explanation of how the application of the basic freedoms apply to students within the education system, to include as a minimum:

(a) Freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association within the educational institutions; e.g., dress codes, hair styles, and movement to include open campuses, and finally, the right of the students to petition the administration.

(b) Freedom from unreasonable search and seizure of person, property, and place of residence, whether on or off campus.

(c) Freedom from administration restrictions on students involved in off-campus activities.

(B) An enumeration of student responsibilities, coupled with a statement of administration, faculty, and student responsibilities to not unreasonably interfere with the orderly educational process, others' participation in the process and other individuals' rights.

(C) A statement on the procedural safeguards when penalties can be imposed, to include, but not be limited, to the following:

In disciplinary proceedings, students are to be entitled to elements of due process of law: the right to notice of the rule and the charge; a timely hearing, including the right to present evidence, and the right to an advisor's assistance, the results in a decision; and review of any decision reached in the hearing.

(D) A statement of the degree to which students shall get involved in various areas of institutional decision-making. That students, along with others whose interests are vitally affected, have significant voting rights in the decision-making process, and that student participation shall be present in all areas of decision making.

(E) A guarantee of necessary participation when revisions in these statements are made.

(2) *Educational program.* We further recommend that the body which establishes these rules should undertake an educational program to insure that the various constituencies are informed of the rules and of the rights, responsibilities, and procedures concerning policy within the school and relations between the school and the outside community.

(3) *Foreign Students.* We further recommend that foreign students' rights include the following areas:

(A) That every educational institution with a foreign student enrollment should accept the obligation of protecting the rights of their foreign students and to establish procedures by which each foreign student will be informed of his rights and obligations in the United States.

(B) That each educational institution should also ensure that any enrolled foreign student faced with deportation be provided legal assistance and be advised of his legal rights in such procedures.

(4) *Record Keeping.* We further recommend that all academic, disciplinary or other permanent evaluative records regarding individual students by academic institutions be made available to the students on demand, in the case of secondary or higher institutions' students, or to parents in the class of younger students. Also, that all students be given the right to place, in all school records, any rebuttal explaining disciplinary actions or academic performance. *We further recommend that the student receive a copy of any part of his record sent by the institution to any party making an inquiry as to the record at the time of the inquiry, and that no student records, other than enrollment status, age at entrance or graduation, and degrees received shall be released by any educational institution without the written permission of the student himself.* In the case of a student who has not attained the age of majority, such information may be released to said student's parents or legal guardian without the student's written permission.

(5) *Budget withdrawals.* We further recommend that budgets appropriated for academic research or other administrative, faculty, or student activities by governmental bodies or to academic institutions for such activities be protected from untimely withdrawal or future budgetary retaliation due to student political activity — provided that such funds are utilized in accordance with the purpose of the funding.

(6) We further recommend that the above be implemented as follows:

(A) That the aforementioned measures be implemented to include all races, creeds, colors, sexes, or varying economic backgrounds, and that they be instituted in every educational institution (private, public, and parochial) in the United States, its territories and military bases. That each of these recommendations be printed in those languages necessary so as to provide every student in the above mentioned areas with a full and complete understanding of their substance.

(B) That the above recommendations shall be distributed to all state education agencies and their various decision-making bodies in the Union, as well as all national, state, and local educational associations accompanied by a letter stressing the need for immediate implementation of the recommendations within their specific education areas. Furthermore, copies of these recommendations should be made available for distribution to anyone who desires them.

(C) *That all state education agencies and their various decision-making bodies shall require each individual educational institution within their jurisdiction to establish a student-faculty-administrative review board composed of not less than 50 percent student participation, which would review administrative decisions involving students' rights and responsibilities.*

(D) That the recommendations shall also be distributed to all educational accrediting associations with the purpose of requiring the individual educational institutions to implement the recommendations as a criterion for accreditation.

Police and Youth

7.10 There is a very serious concern by youth with the role of police in our society. Communities often have little control of police, lacking leverage over the pressure points that affect police behavior (funding and appointments). Some police are often unresponsive to the problems of the community and appear to have no sense of responsibility for their solution.

Police Training and Education

7.10a The lack of training and education of many police officers continues to limit the effectiveness of some police departments. The insensitivity to the problems of youth has necessitated constitutional changes in the procedures in recent years. Because of these problems, we recommend that:

(1) The individual police officer should make every effort to become involved in the community he serves.

(2) *A civilian community review board composed of youth and adults and not more than one-third police representatives be established on a precinct level to provide advice and recommendations in the areas of promotions, assignments, and complaints.*

(3) Police officers should be limited, as lawyers and judges, in discussing a pending case.

(4) More police should be assigned to foot and motorscooter patrol and regularly assigned to the same community beat.

(5) Trivial physical requirements, such as near-sightedness, hay fever, etc. be relaxed or eliminated so that an otherwise qualified candidate may not be eliminated from consideration. Similarly, a man with a juvenile or minor criminal record who might otherwise be qualified.

(6) *We recommend that more officers be recruited from groups sensitive to youth and minority group problems. We further request that recruitment efforts be made to encourage minority and youth involvement.*

(7) We recommend that all uniformed officers be required to wear highly visible pictured name tags to make them more identifiable and accountable.

(8) We recommend that all law enforcement officers receive the incentives and training both academically and in-service to deal with youth and community problems. We specifically request that more funds be made available to the Department of Justice and that these funds be directed to assist in the implementation of the above described goals. Through educational programs supported through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, assistance to academic institutions should be made available for the foundation and funding of college courses implementing studies in youth and community problems. We further request that law enforcement agencies assist officers in the pursuit of academic training by providing them time and incentive for attendance.

Legal Education for Youth

7.10b *We recommend that State boards of education require young people to take a professionally designed course or series of courses on youth and the law, including the role of the police, courts and correctional systems.* Such a course should include classroom experiences and direct observation of as much of the criminal justice system as practicable.

Because we, as youth, feel that we are not adequately informed with regard to the impact of the legal system, we recommend that the Attorney General of the United States and the individual attorneys general of each state initiate and undertake to make available to youth *on the local level* information and explanations of programs, policies, and the impact of the legal system, particularly the criminal law, on youth. It is to be stressed that implementation of these programs should be oriented to fit into every local school system in the country. Such programs should include the use of persons responsible in the application and theory of law and legal rights; e.g., judges at all levels, prosecutors, defense attorneys, law students, police, law professors, offenders, etc. A similar program is operating successfully in St. Louis, Missouri. Another is the Appalachee Correctional Institute's program in Florida, called "Boys in Blue."

Military Justice

7.11 The American publics' attention has focused on the growing controversy over the quality of military justice. It is evident that many Americans, including a substantial number of servicemen, are losing faith in the military legal system. Action must be taken immediately to restore faith in the system. Reforms which increase the typical serviceman's confidence in the military legal system's fairness will inevitably raise rather than lower the state of military discipline and morale.

The appropriate Departments of the Executive Branch and committees of Congress should immediately undertake a comprehensive review and revision of the military legal system.

To implement this recommendation, the Departments and committees should consider the adoption of the following proposals:

(1) *Command influence in the court martial.* Every serviceman who is the accused in a general or special court martial should be granted the right to trial by a single, independent military judge or a panel of such judges. When the accused elects to have a jury trial by court members, the court members should truly constitute a jury of the accused's peers; officers should be tried by courts of officers and enlisted men by courts of enlisted men.

(2) *Administrative board proceedings.* The servicemen who are respondents in administrative board proceedings should be granted additional procedural safeguards. They should be granted such elements of procedural due process as a broader right to counsel and a more effective guarantee of the right of confrontation.

(3) *Article 15 procedure.* Current procedures are so informal that they might be unjust. All services should adopt the United States Army's rule that the serviceman in an Article 15 proceeding be guaranteed the right to consult legally qualified counsel.

(4) *Survey of opinions.* A survey should be made of young servicemen's perceptions of or opinions about the military legal system. The survey's scope should include members of the Reserves, including the National Guard. The survey's results should be distributed nationally.

(5) *Legal rights and responsibilities.* The limitations on servicemen's constitutional rights should be revised to eliminate any restriction which unnecessarily limits those rights more severely than the national defense requires.

(A) During basic training, servicemen should receive extensive training concerning their constitutional rights and the limitations upon the exercise of those rights.
(B) National Guardsmen should receive additional training concerning their responsibilities under the Uniform Code of Military Justice and during civil disorders and disturbances.
(C) All servicemen should receive intensive training in the standards to be used to determine whether an order issued to them is illegal.
(D) Servicemen should be guaranteed their rights under the First Amendment to freedom of speech, press, freedom to organize and peaceably assemble.

Women's Rights

7.12 *We call upon the Congress of the United States to effect the immediate passage of Equal Rights Amendment, H.J. Res. 208, forbidding discrimination on the basis of sex, and further request that all differential treatment of women under state, local and administrative regulations be eliminated.*

Medical Consent by Youths

7.13 It is well established that many minors are not seeking, and thus not receiving, medical care for serious health problems because of their reluctance to reveal them to their parents. In addition, physicians, in many states, are prevented by state laws from treating minors without parental consent.

Although the Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice of the White House Conference on Youth believes that the parents should be informed and their consent obtained whenever possible for treatment of minors, nevertheless the Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice stands in favor of legislation which would allow the self consent for diagnostic, preventative, and therapeutic health care of minors when, in the judgment of the treating physician or hospital, there exists significant hazard to the health of said minor or others, and the treatment of such health hazards could not be administered effectively if the right of self-consent were denied.

This legislation will not only permit the physician to treat venereal disease, which increased to epidemic proportions in the past few years with the highest incidence and increase in the age group 15 to 24, but will also permit the treatment of drug addiction, emotional problems, and others.

Venereal Disease Control

7.14 Whereas the incidence of gonorrhea, according to calculation of ratios based on estimated number of cases treated in the United States, indicated that one in every 50 teenagers contracted gonorrhea in 1968, the 1971 projected ratio is considerably higher. The Chief of Venereal Disease Control for the State of California Public Health Department recently stated that in "some urban areas at least 20 percent of our high school students will be infected before they receive their diplomas;" and

Whereas venereal disease is reaching epidemic proportions throughout the nation with the highest incidence and increase in the age group of 15-24; and

Whereas the National Congress of Parents and Teachers already in 1966, endorsed VD education in the school curricula and many other groups since have endorsed it:

Be it resolved, That the statutes dealing with VD education be amended to remove prohibitory language that makes it difficult, if not impossible, for public schools to teach the prevention, control, and treatment of VD; and be it further

Resolved, That the Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice of the White House Conference on Youth endorses an objective and factual educational program on venereal disease with consideration of prevention, transmission, and treatment in the junior and senior high school curricula.

A copy of this resolution should be transmitted to the state Boards of Education in each of the 50 states.

Illegitimacy and Pregnancy

7.15 Illegitimacy among teenagers has risen sharply in the United States since World War II. The pregnant teenager married and unmarried is frequently suspended from high school attendance under various pretexts which are arbitrary and capricious.

The importance of receiving public education through twelfth grade has not only social and psychological but also economic values. To deprive a teenager of high school education is to inflict upon her irreparable injury, to deprive her of her property without due process of law and to deny her the equal protection of the law.

The pregnant, unwed adolescent girl is not only at risk physically and emotionally, but also educationally if she is deprived of her basic, legal right to attend school. *The Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice of the White House Conference on Youth reaffirms the legal right of the pregnant adolescent to attend school if she so wishes.*

The Task Force, furthermore, endorses the introduction of courses in family life and human sexuality, which would include in its subject matter the development of a realistic picture of the risk of pregnancy. Such courses should be integrated into the school curriculum in the hope of preventing out of wedlock pregnancies and their consequences: the unwanted, neglected, rejected, and often battered child.

A copy of this resolution should be transmitted to the state Board of Education in each of the 50 states.

Right to Choose Country of Residence

7.16 Each individual has a right to choose his place of habitation and to emigrate to another country which is ready to accept him.

This resolution was brought forth in front of the Foreign Relations Task Force for endorsement and further elaboration on specific examples of oppressed peoples of the world.

Law Schools; Clinical Legal Education

7.17 There is a great need for the law schools of the United States to enhance the legal education experience by the establishment and expansion of extra curricula and co-curricula programs to give law students relevant experience in the practice of law. Equally there is an unfilled need in today's society for adequate and readily available legal services for the lower income citizen.

Law school clinical programs are uniquely appropriate to meet the aforementioned needs and such programs, to be successful, require new sources of financial support.

An urgent plea for Federal support of clinical teaching in law schools is recommended.

Specifically, it is recommended that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare take all appropriate and necessary measures to effectuate the implementation of Federal legislative measures, such as Title XI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, designed to provide Federal funding to law school clinical programs.

Clinical programs to be included in Federal funding measures are juvenile legal processes, legal aid programs, public defender programs, prosecutor programs, consumer protection programs, and prisoner legal assistance programs (both civil and criminal).

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is to make his efforts publicly known to the House Special Education Subcommittee and the Senate Subcommittee on Education.

It is further recommended that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare fully coordinate his efforts with the Association of American Law Schools (AALS), the American Bar Association (ABA), the Law Student Division of the American Bar Association, the Council on Legal Education for Professional Responsibility (CLEPR), the National Bar Association (NBA), and the Association of American Law Libraries (AALL).

Funding Legal Clinics

7.17a The Senate Subcommittee on Department of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies is presently considering Higher Education Act appropriations, but inclusion of any funds for Title XI is uncertain. The House Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare did not provide any funds for Title XI or clinical legal education as regards to any other program. Should funds be forthcoming from the Senate Subcommittee a Conference Committee made up of both House and Senate Subcommittees will have to give final approval of the Senate Amendment providing funding for Title XI.

The Administration has come forward with legislation proposing the repeal of Title XI and the creation of a National Education Foundation which would be able to fund clinical legal programs.

A number of bills have been introduced by various Congressmen and Senators in the higher education area, the majority of which seek to continue a specific authorization for clinical legal programs. The Title XI designation is retained in the majority of the bills, but at least the bills would include a program under different legislation.

Title XI has been on the books since 1968 and all efforts to secure funding of the provision have failed. The authorization to fund the provision will run out in June 1971.

The following is a statement of the Association of American Law Schools on Legislation for Higher Education presented to the House Special Education Subcommittee on April 15, 1971:

> . . . sound and effective legal education is vital to the success of our legal system. The lawyers of the nation numbering about 330,000 have a crucial role in preserving liberty, in maintaining equality before the law and equality of opportunity, and in providing the framework necessary for ordered progress in all aspects of our national life. A legal profession worthy of its responsibility is crucial to sustaining and reaffirming the validity of the democratic process of this nation. Our law schools, through their teaching function, are the wellsprings of the profession. They also can and should be increasingly important centers of research into the workings of justice in the community and sources of public understanding of the proper role of law, legal institutions and processes. This function of the law schools and of the legal scholars in their faculties can, if adequately supported, make a truly significant contribution to the solution of the problem of society in the nation and even beyond its borders.

White House Conference

7.18 Whereas the express purpose of the White House Conference on Youth is to offer a platform for the presentation of Youth's viewpoint on problems confronting America and their possible solutions to those in power; and

Whereas a conference held each decade does not encounter the many generational and attitudinal changes of American society within that ten-year period; and

Whereas the nation's educational institutions also produce several generations of different composition and attitudes within a decade, whose needs are not met or considered by a conference held every ten years; and

Whereas the governmental administrations of that ten-year period need a continuous flow of relevant and futuristic ideas which a conference held every four years would provide in order to be effective in meeting the needs of the people, especially those of youth:

Be it Resolved, By the Task Force on Legal Rights and Justice that the White House establish, finance, and administer a national conference on youth in the middle of each Presidential term.

Conference Follow-up

7.19 In order that the efforts of the White House Conference on Youth have maximum impact, we recommend that the White House Conference on Youth follow-up body be responsible for conveying recommendations to the appropriate bodies and reporting back to all the delegates, accounting for implementations and follow-up of specific Legal Rights and Justice Task Force recommendations. Such reports should be sent to Task Force delegates at least every six months.

Department of Children and Youth

7.20 *In assessing the legal needs and rights of youth as well as children, and consistent with the recommendations of the delegates to the White House Conference on Children, we urgently recommend a Department of Children and Youth at the Cabinet level.* Surely if we have Departments of Defense, Justice, Transportation, and the Interior — and we allege that children and youth are a national priority — how can we not afford to have a Department of Children and Youth to guarantee attention to and solution of their problems?

Civil Rights for Youth

7.21 In the United States, especially in the field of civil law, there is a definite resistance by legal institutions, such as boards of supervisors, community councils, and even the courts, to allow young people to work up through networks of laws, codes, and municipal regulations. In short, young people are often not allowed to solve or even attempt to find solutions to their own problems. Therefore, we recommend:

That the resistance to youth businesses and other related activities should be reduced and that the vast amount of red tape that young people must go through to achieve their goals should be cut back, thereby giving young people similar opportunities to those of their adult counterparts.

Implementation: A. Some changes in laws, especially in the area of municipal codes, will help in assisting these kinds of equal protection for young people. Such changes may in turn be facilitated if young people try a variety of pressure tactics on local legislative bodies.

B. We also urge that courts include themselves in considering such questions of discrimination against young people.

Juvenile Justice

7.22 *We recommend that the goal to be strived for is the improvement of the juvenile justice system with emphasis on community treatment and prevention programs.*

We recognize four directions which must be taken in achieving this goal:

First, the White House Conference implementation body is urged to insure that Conference recommendations are evaluated and carried out.

Also, because of the lack of knowledge about the effectiveness and consequences of the juvenile justice system, we recommend that programs and pilot projects be established that will allow authorities to evaluate existing programs and to plan alternatives.

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Second, because of the lack of knowledge by youth and the community of how the juvenile justice system operates, who gets involved and why, we recommend expanded efforts in disseminating information about the system to the entire society.

Third, because of the high incidence of youth contact with the law, we recommend that ways be developed to improve the effectiveness of the social institutions that deal with youth.

Fourth, because of the inadequacy of present laws pertaining to the problems of youth, we recommend that present statutes be revised.

Also, *because of the inadequacy of the juvenile justice system in areas of law enforcement, adjudication, disposition, treatment, and corrections, we recommend that there be drastic reorientation of the roles and functions that these institutions perform. Such changes should include greatly expanded youth involvement.*

Overview of Juvenile Justice

7.22a Long-term planning, research and demonstration programs should be initiated on a statewide basis: (a) for gaining a more relevant understanding of the problems of our young people in trouble; (b) for developing viable methods of preventing juvenile delinquency and youth crimes; (c) for developing more effective law enforcement techniques; and (d) for improving our juvenile justice system. The design and development of these programs should recognize the following:

(1) That we as a nation have made limited progress in delinquency prevention during the past three decades. And if our focus continues to be only upon the existing system, the existing processes and the existing rules, there does not appear to be much prospect for innovation or progress over the next several decades. In spite of the complexity of the problem, we cannot indefinitely afford the cynical luxury of focusing only upon controlling crime and correcting offenders. If we believe we are capable of improving our record on preventing delinquency, then we must seriously commit ourselves to the task.

(2) Within a general framework of Federal and state guidance and support, the principal centers for innovation and action in developing useful delinquency prevention tools appear to be at the local level, and particularly at the community level. Increased Federal and state support should include those public and private research levels that have established background in dealing with young people in trouble and who exhibit a high degree of competence in modern methods of management and analysis.

General Concerns

7.22b A review should be required of each level of the justice system through citizen effort involving youth and adults to ensure that justice is rendered in behalf of youth.

Major efforts are needed in funding programs which are preventative in nature with special consideration given to assisting the individual youth and his family, improving the educational system, and other community and societal improvements which generate and/or increase the problems of youth.

Study is needed in the identification, assessment and alteration of those features of the institutional functioning that impede and obstruct a favorable course of youth development for all youth.

Major study and action are required in the problem of incarceration of the poor and/or minority young people and equal justice through more adequate social supports available to the middle-class deviant youth.

Programs need to be developed and funded which provide legitimate helping roles for the juvenile offender.

More small group homes should be established within the community setting for those youths who have inadequate homes as defined by the court or a desire by parent and child for a brief separation period to obtain needed counseling.

Counseling services should be provided to those youths who are in trouble in school and/or community. Counselors should work with the community agencies to help provide the conditions for the youth to succeed. Such services could be rendered by the public as well as subcontracting such services to any appropriate community agency.

Traffic offenses, civil or criminal, should not be handled in juvenile court, with the following exception: traffic court could waive jurisdiction and remand to the juvenile court cases it felt could be more appropriately handled there.

We submit the following workshop recommendations as possible solutions. The Task Force did not vote on the specific recommendations included in this background material.

Implementation:

A. Program Planning and Management
   1. Establishment of Department of Children and Youth
   2. Establish management group for White House Conference proposals
   3. Develop strategies for implementation
   4. Develop standards for all aspects of the system
   5. Develop evaluation process for total and selected levels of the system
   6. Youth representation on governing boards.

B. Understanding and involving youth and their families in the juvenile justice system
   1. Multi-educational programs for understanding the system
   2. Thorough involvement of youth, adults, and professionals
   3. Study the nature of the problem, and develop appropriate social institutions to deal with the problem
   4. Understanding of legal rights of youth.

C. Preventing Youth Problems and Juvenile Delinquency
   1. Create and strengthen a series of community based treatment programs
   2. Make agencies accountable
   3. Urge agencies to respond to the youth in conflict
   4. Development of service bureaus
   5. Study and change institutional functioning that impede and obstruct youth development
   6. Encourage programs of diversion from juvenile justice system

7. Probation subsidy approach
8. Youth involved in projects in the justice system.

D. Improving Laws and the Juvenile Justice System
   1. Restrict use of court for serious offenses
   2. Legislative review (every five years)
   3. Juvenile court cost-effectiveness study
   4. Evaluation, including youth, of the juvenile justice system
   5. Develop qualifications and standards of practice
   6. Involve the bar and law students in the juvenile justice system
   7. Equalize justice for minority youth through more adequate social supports
   8. Waiver to adult court be reviewed
   9. Use of records be limited (possibility of destroying records)
   10. Increase funding and staffs
   11. Raise tolerance levels of community
   12. Establish separate facilities for youth
   13. Visit by judges and lawyers to the institutions to which youth are sent
   14. Increase public defender services

Juvenile Records Need to be Clarified

7.22c *Juvenile arrest records can be extremely deceptive.* A charge of robbery, for example, may turn out to have been one kid stealing a rubber ball from another kid; or, on the other hand, a teenager assaulting a woman to take her pocketbook. Such discriminations ought to be evident on the record itself.

Thus *we recommend that charges should always be accompanied by a description of the events composing the crime.*

Also such records — including psychiatric and probation records — often unfairly restrict themselves to a negative or prosecutorial view, when, as is sometimes the case, this was the only view to receive official airing or else the charge in fact never made it into court.

Juvenile records should contain the defendant's own version of events, plus relevant statements from his counsel, parents, or a psychiatrist or social worker advocate where these might tend to balance the picture.

Availability of Juvenile Records

7.22d Juvenile records are sometimes dispensed to a variety of public and private agencies for a variety of purposes, while at the same time they remain completely inaccessible to the defendant himself.

We recommend that juvenile arrest, social and court records be open only to police, courts and treatment agencies, when the juvenile is being processed by these agencies; and to the defendant himself, his parents and his counsel, at all times.

We further recommend that Federal and state laws be enacted to prohibit identification by communications media of juvenile and youthful offenders and the juvenile and youthful victims of such offenders.

Legislation should be drawn up to ban the passing of law enforceent information and records to unauthorized agencies and persons, with meaningful sanctions.

Juvenile Advocate System

7.23 The juvenile justice system, as presently constituted, is too heavily weighted in favor of the official or *parens patria* viewpoint, reinforcing existing notions of how to treat juvenile offenders, reaffirms conventional definitions of juvenile delinquency, generally holding out for adherence to the norm even when a child's reaction against it may, on balance, prove more rational than the norm itself.

Accordingly, we *propose a massive buildup of the defense and related counseling networks, to give defendants some approximation of the resources and knowledge now being used by others to decide their fates.* Specifically we recommend:

(1) An expanded public defender system for juveniles, possibly to include law student interns under proper supervision, following cases from contact through disposition and treatment.

(2) An expanded network of high school, college, and graduate student interns to pursue individual cases from intake to disposition, and beyond.

(3) Substantial programs to involve neighborhood people, including ex-offenders, as paraprofessionals in all phases of juvenile delinquency prevention, rehabilitation and follow up.

(4) A psychiatrist advocate system responsible for examining and challenging official diagnosis where he feels a juvenile may have been unfairly categorized as abnormal or maladjusted.

(5) A purely educational program to involve peers in the juvenile justice system, giving juveniles a chance to be exposed to its workings and in turn drawing on their impressions to make the system more comprehensible to the people with whom it directly deals. "Teen juries" for certain cases would be one such program.

Federal Funding;
Local Control

7.23a A few of the proposals we make draw on volunteer services, but the total cost of the approaches described here will be massive. Federal funds must be the main source of money. The responsibility, however, for generating and running these programs must lie with the communities. Once again, funding agencies must broaden the categories of programs considered for support. Present funding concentrates too much on traditional court and corrections processes. By striking a new balance between those agencies charged with viewing the juvenile from the system's vantage point, and those other agencies charged with viewing the system from the juvenile's vantage point, we can conceivably channel some funds from one side to the other.

Alternative Treatment

7.24 We know that existing means for handling juvenile offenders show depressingly low rates of success — and high rates of recidivism. Yet the system is not nearly open enough to competing approaches. An orthodoxy that has proven itself a failure is often defended as if, instead, it had made a compelling case against all comers.

A wide range of treatment and referral programs should be organized outside the existing juvenile justice system, by private and public sponsoring groups alike, and a greatly increased number of juveniles be remanded to such programs, especially before being channeled into court.

Specifically, we would encourage neighborhood based and community controlled referral agencies, to counsel and discipline troublesome youths and to give them positive functions within their communities.

At the same time we would encourage private and public groups to launch pilot treatment programs.

To implement these recommendations, we propose that agencies of the juvenile justice system be reorganized to fund alternative approaches on a contract basis. In other words, young persons coming into contact with the juvenile justice system should be assisted into programs administered by public and private agencies which have not traditionally been part of the system.

In order to avoid the danger that established agencies might exclude especially unorthodox approaches, we recommend that additional money be made available for such programs through: (a) the Federal government (including HEW, the Labor Department, Model Cities, and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration); and (b) state and local governments directly. To facilitate this, the LEAA in particular and other funding agencies in general must broaden their definitions of fundable activities to include informal and para-judicial programs operated by neighborhood or private organizations. In addition, local communities with Federal planning grant assistance must devote vast new energies to the development of imaginative programs suitable for their communities.

In summary, we believe that an injection of free enterprise and competition into corrections could certainly do no harm, and might lead us toward new and promising solutions.

Review of Juvenile Court System

7.25 *We recommend that state and local officials undertake an immediate review of the functions and jurisdiction of the juvenile court with a view toward developing and strengthening non-judicial agencies to handle some of the problems of dependency and incorrigibility now dealt with by the court.* Specifically, we urge that three options be considered:

(1) State and local governments create a Youth Service Bureau to perform the function of intake, diagnosis, and referral to other community agencies for treatment and utilize juvenile courts as a last resort.

(2) That state and local governments reevaluate and analyze their current resources in such a way as to create and/or strengthen privately funded community based agencies such as family counseling programs, neighborhood centers, and other counseling programs to respond to the needs of youth.

(3) In addition, each state legislature should review the statutes as they relate to youth every five years to make certain of the relevancy of the laws like the area of the definition of a delinquent.

Volunteer Programs for Juvenile Justice

7.26 At present over 100,000 Americans contribute supplementary services without pay to the juvenile justice system in courts, probation, parole, and juvenile institutions. These services are rendered principally in rehabilitative areas.

This modern volunteer movement has grown a hundredfold in the past four years and continues to grow rapidly. Even at this early stage, at least 50 percent of juvenile courts today have volunteer programs, and there are at least five times as many volunteers as paid workers in the juvenile justice system.

Thus, the very magnitude of the movement demands our attention in that its vast energies be used in the best possible ways. Specifically, it is recommended that we contact its leadership to urge continual improvement in the quality of existing programs, a greater number of such programs, and redirection of the volunteer movement's vast energies to the principal concerns of this Task Force.

Current Functions of Volunteers

7.26a The volunteers are currently serving as follows:

(1) As a treatment agent (at least 100 distinct job descriptions exist here);

(2) In educating the volunteer himself to the problems and concerns of youth in the juvenile justice system and to the system itself; and

(3) To open channels of direct communication between the community and the juvenile justice agency. Note that a volunteer worker is listened to by the agency far more than an ordinary uninvolved citizen.

Redirection of Volunteer Service

7.26b The volunteer program could usefully be redirected as follows:

(1) More volunteer programs to be developed in non-judicial, diversionary or preventative projects.

(2) More effort to be concentrated on volunteer programs as an alternative to institutionalization for youngsters who are dumped on institutions because no treatment alternatives exist in the community. Volunteers may provide the only such alternative in smaller communities.

(3) At present, juvenile justice system volunteerism is mainly a middle class phenomenon (both black and white). While the middle class should be encouraged to make whatever contribution it can through this medium, more effort is nevertheless necessary to attract other groups, including: youth; minority groups; poverty people; ex-offenders; and the offender himself.

A special effort should be made to involve the clients of the system, and there is precedent for the success of special efforts in this regard. If remuneration or subsidization for services is appropriate for these people, no lilywhite conception of pure amateurism should prevent it.

In fact, volunteers create the need for more paid supervisory positions in the supervision of volunteers, and at least one statewide program is managed by OEO.

(4) In general, more effort must be devoted to making more citizens of all types aware of the opportunities for juvenile justice system volunteer service.

Implementation: At present, two national organizations exist for no other purpose than to encourage the launching of such volunteer

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programs and to provide technical assistance in making them effective and responsible. These organizations are:

a. The National Information Center on Volunteers in Courts, Box 2150, Boulder, Colorado.

b. Volunteers in Probation, Inc., 200 Washington Square Plaza, Royal Oak, Michigan.

A. The resolutions of this Task Force should be communicated to these organizations, emphasizing especially the redirections of volunteer program efforts, advocated as the principal concerns of this Task Force.

B. While most juvenile justice system volunteer programs are primarily locally planned and managed in response to local needs, some state resources and support are needed for these local programs if they are to reach full potential. In acknowledgment of this need, 35 states are currently planning to operate in this area, though only four or five of these are fully operational at the present time.

We recommend the further development and strengthening of these state plans in the juvenile justice volunteer program area.

C. We urge that this be placed on the agenda of each state follow-up conference of the White House Conference on Youth.

For each state the National Information Center on Volunteers in Courts can provide names and addresses of the volunteer planning or operational agencies in that state.

The Center is also convening a national conference of state correctional volunteer planners on September 22-25 in Boulder, Colorado. Details are available from the Center.

Youth Involvement: Model Projects

7.27 Three projects are proposed that will increase your understanding and knowledge of the juvenile justice system by participatory educational involvement in its processes.

From that basis of increased knowledge, youth's potential for creative impact on the system will be advanced. The three projects are proposed initially for funding as demonstration or pilot projects, to be implemented more broadly as rapidly as is consistent with the evaluation of the results of the pilot projects.

Youth Model Courts

7.27a *It is recommended that in as many communities as is feasible, youth model courts be held in which youth participate in the roles of Judge, Probation Officer, Defendant, Parents, Attorney, and other significant people in the juvenile justice process.*

Open discussion between participants and audience, following the youth court, will be an important part of the process. Particular pressure should be exerted on juvenile justice system professionals and judges to attend youth court.

The model is Boy's State, the Hawaii State YMCA Model Legislature, and similar programs in which youth participate in model legislative processes. Here the idea will be applied to the juvenile justice process.

The purposes are:

(1) To familiarize both participating youth and audience with the juvenile justice process.

(2) To serve as a model for adults and youth on ideal ways in which the juvenile justice system should be conducted. We therefore urge that youth not only imitate traditional rules in the conduct of youth court, but also develop experimental innovations which they believe will improve the process.

(3) There must be developed a serious connection between youth courts and actual courts in the community in terms of which youth court participants can forward actionable recommendations to the community court. We reject thereby any notion of youth court as "those cute kids playing around" in favor of a concept of real impact as well as education emerging, along with a potential for local or national innovation from the point of view of youth as potential and real clients of the court.

(4) As part of the impact process, local and national media coverage should be given to youth court sessions so that the general public as well as the immediate audience is exposed to youth ideas on the subject. National commercial and educational TV should be asked to consider presentation of youth court sessions along with local TV stations. Perhaps the best youth courts can be elected for national coverage or at least a range of selected courts.

Implementation: A. A Youth Task Force should be set up to implement this proposal immediately upon the conclusion of this conference and/or in each state follow up conference.

B. Support for the program should be sought from national organizations, some of which might be radio, press, TV national networks and local outlets, National PTA (Committee on Judicial Concern for Children in Trouble), National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, American Bar Association (Special Projects) and/or local bar associations, National Trial Judges Association (Reno, Nevada), National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD).

Youth Observer Corps

7.27b There are a number of programs in which youth observe the legislative process. There are also some programs in which adults observe court operations.

We recommend a national program in which youth act as court observers and evaluators, with clear channels to discuss their recommendations with local officials of the system.

If court rules as to protection of identity prevent observation of the juvenile court, youth may still observe adult court proceedings, visit probation or parole offices and, if permitted, juvenile detention centers or institutions. They may also tour high delinquency neighborhoods, local jails, police stations and discuss their observations with the personnel concerned.

A report will periodically be issued by the Youth Observer Corps locally, and brought to the attention of the public and appropriate local officials. A national conference of Youth Observer Corps chapters, periodically convened, would draw national attention to the gist of general conclusions and evaluations.

Considerable attention should be given by youth to development of responsible criteria for the evaluation of their observations, and this may include innovative as well as traditional standards in the administration of juvenile justice.

Implementation: A. A youth committee be appointed from this conference and/or each state follow up conference.

B. This resolution be brought to the attention of each state follow up conference for implementation in that state.

C. Support to be sought from national organizations capable of assisting in implementation; for example, PTA (Committee on Judicial Concern for Children), National Council of Juvenile Court Judges, American Bar Association and its local chapters, National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD), existing Adult Court Observer programs, notable in Indianapolis, Miami, and St. Louis.

Apprentice Programs

7.27c *It is recommended that a number of positions be created in which youth are paid to work as apprentices in the juvenile justice system in various rehabilitative and administrative capacities.*

While similar positions currently exist in internships in connection with college courses in sociology, psychology, and the like, the present program would be open to all well motivated youth, regardless of college level or specialization. The purposes are:

(1) To create interest and awareness-by-participation among youth who might not otherwise be exposed to the juvenile justice system.

(2) To add services and ideas to the juvenile rehabilitation system, which benefits from the unique perspectives and experiences of the youth apprentices.

Implementation: A. A youth committee ongoing from this conference and/or set up by state follow up conferences.

B. This committee and/or these state conferences should contact state juvenile correctional professional associations in each state, pursuant to implementing the apprentice idea in each state. (NCCD will have names and addresses of such associations in each state.)

C. Substantial funding must be sought for the committee and/or state follow up conferences from LEAA, HEW, or state legislatures.

Upgrading Professional Services

7.28 The principal thrust of this Task Force and possibly of the entire Conference has been a vote of no confidence in the juvenile justice system and the professionals who work in it, including the probation officer, the parole officer, the youth care worker, detention officer, etc.

Witness the emphasis on non-judicial diversionary projects which, however intended, seem to say: "Whatever you do, keep the kid out of their hands."

Witness the interpretation by some of the need for volunteers as a rebuke to the inadequacy of the professionals—volunteers have to come and bail you out.

But we *have in all this overlooked the juvenile justice system professional as a tremendously unused resource, along with all our other suggestions, for the improvement of the juvenile justice system.*

In fact, he has never really been given a chance.

He is underpaid, undertrained, and overworked. Caseloads averaging 75-100 are absurd and tragic.

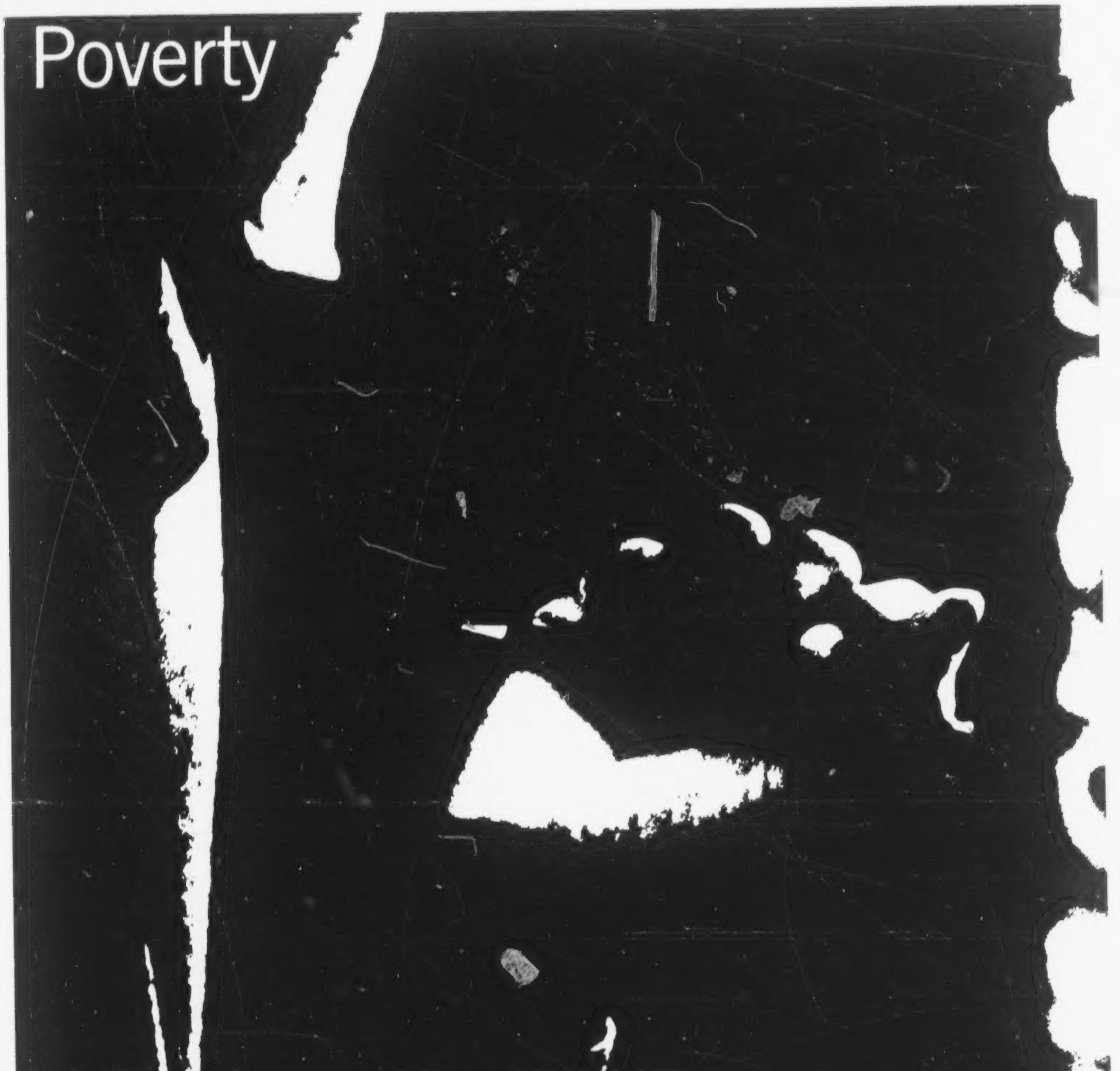
Therefore be it *resolved:*

1. That "intensive caseload" model projects be conducted far more frequently under the auspices of LEAA, HEW and state correctional agencies.

2. That far more Federal and state funds be provided towards a decent pay scale for attracting and holding high quality juvenile justice system professionals.

3. That some really adequate funding be provided for state training officers in the juvenile justice system, and that the position of training officer itself be upgraded administratively and careerwise.

Poverty



All recommendations were voted upon and approved by the whole Task Force meeting in general session. Drafts of the recommendations originated from Task Force workshops.

Guaranteed Adequate Income

8.1 Every citizen in the United States has the *right* to a decent and adequate standard of living. Today there are millions of American families "in poverty." This incidence of poverty and the factors causing it have made it necessary to develop some form of income maintenance program to provide for subsistence needs of those incapable of supporting themselves.

The current welfare system of payments, services, and commodities should be replaced with an income program which guarantees every person in America sufficient cash income for decent and adequate standards of food, shelter, and clothing, supplemented by supportive services. We further recommend that the program be designed to include the following essential characteristics:

1. *Benefit levels.* Cash benefits must be sufficient to provide for a decent and adequate standard of living. The benefit level should be no less than the lower standard budget established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, with regional variations. The BLS lower standard budget was $6500 for a family of four in 1969.

2. *Eligibility based on need.* The only requirement for eligibility should be a simple declaration of need. An individual or family could become eligible through two processes: (a) the potential recipient may request cash allowance upon submittal of standardized proof of earning level; or (b) the administering agent will inform persons of the eligibility and ineligibility as a result of their records.

3. *Subsidized public services.* The cost of essential services such as child care, vocational planning, family counseling, legal and health services, should, if necessary, be directly subsidized by the Federal government. Participants in the income program should be free to purchase the services they need or want. These services should be integrated into those used by the affluent citizens and available to all on a graduated fee scale based on ability to pay. Food stamps, commodities, and other such alternatives to cash should be eliminated.

4. *Work benefits.* Work benefits should be built in so that participants in the income program are encouraged to work and encouraged to find higher paying jobs if possible.

5. *Work requirements.* No one should be required to work or enroll in training as a requirement for initial or continued eligibility.

6. *Privacy.* All precautions should be taken to guarantee that privacy and other rights of participants are protected including legal rights of appeal.

Implementation: This income program should be federally financed and administered according to Federal standards. Administration procedures should be simple and participants in the program should be included in program development, decision-making, and implementation.

Education

8.2 The Task Force on Poverty believes that the educational system is a primary deterrent to the economic and political sufficiency and mobility of poor people in America. The American public school system cannot meet the needs of all the youth if a significant number of people are excluded from the decision-making process.

Any program designed with the purpose of truly educating poor youth must necessarily make education accountable and acceptable to life the way it is actually lived in poor communities. We strongly believe that there must be a two-pronged approach to the current education problems of the poor community.

Educational Alternatives

8.2a *We submit that priority be given to the fostering of alternatives to the present education system, and that all vehicles of funding be explored, such as voucher systems, street academies, and performance contracts.*

Community Control of Schools

8.2b The following steps must be taken to reform the existing system. *The Task Force advocates full community control of schools for poverty areas.* Community residents of poverty areas should control decisions on personnel, expenditures, and curricula. Each school should have a policy-making board of community residents. Students above the elementary school level should be represented on the policy-making board of community residents. Policy-making boards could seek technical assistance in their work, but the role of the consultants should be defined by the boards. *Students and parents should be represented on all district-wide policy-making boards.* Steps should be taken to involve representation of all segments of the community on district boards. We strongly recommend proportional representation.

These two basic approaches—alternatives to the public school system and full community control—undergird each of the following recommendations.

Expand School Lunch & Breakfast Programs

8.2c The Task Force on Poverty recognizes the importance of adequate nutrition to the educational process. A hungry child cannot learn. We support a fully expanded child nutrition program, including the following:

1. We recommend that Congress increase the proposed FY 1972 budget request for Section 11, Free and Reduced Price Lunches to $600 million.

2. We recommend that Congress increase the non-food assistance funds for the purpose of providing facilities to non-participating schools to $33 million for FY 1972.

3. We recommend that Congress increase Section 4 School Lunch funds to $500 million for FY 1972.

4. We recommend that the Administration and the Congress set a goal to feed the 10 million eligible school children a free or reduced price lunch by Thanksgiving 1971.

5. We recommend that the Congress and the Administration work

toward the implementation of a universal free school lunch program by no later than January 1, 1976.

6. We recommend that the Congress raise the school breakfast program budget request to $100 million for FY 1972.

Counseling

8.2d The counseling services now established in the public educational systems do not satisfy the needs of the individual students. Many counselors, appointed by the school boards, have inadequate training, thus having little or none of the students' confidence. Due to the small number of counselors per school, the lack of understanding on the part of the counselors of the low-income or minority-group students and the stereotyping of these students' futures, we see need for changes in the present system.

In accordance with our recommendation for community control we feel the following could alleviate many of the present problems:

1. Guidance counseling, which is crucial to the educational life of a student, should be extended to the elementary level.

2. A maximum of 300 students per counselor should be established to give counselors sufficient time to deal with students' individual problems.

3. Junior high and high school students should have an effective voice in the selection of their counselors.

Pre-School Education

8.2e We strongly recommend the expansion of pre-school educational programs. Recognizing the importance of pre-school education, we feel it mandatory that all children have equal opportunities for development of proper life forms and habits to help enable their proper growth and development. Our recommendations in this area are as follows:

1. That a considerable increase be made in funds in the Head Start Program, which, in its fifth year, reaches only 15 percent of pre-schoolers.

2. That an expanded Day Care Program be adopted which provides for health, nutrition, social services, and early education; is controlled by the parents of enrolled students; and staffed by community residents.

3. That public kindergarten be financially underwritten by the Federal government and immediately incorporated into the public school system.

Relevant Curricula To Meet Cultural Differences

8.2f The education system is not prepared to present culturally different children with teachers, materials and environments which respect the differences of unique cultural identities and lifestyles. The school system does not present these children with programs which help them deal with the concrete realities of the ghetto, the barrio, the reservation and the "holler" rather than with the far-away suburbia.

It is the conclusion of this Task Force that the educational problems of poor people in this country are not the result of cultural deprivation but, rather, the failure of the educational system in this country at all levels to recognize the right of an individual to possess behavioral *and cultural patterns other than those of the dominant middle-class majority.* We have come to believe as a result of our hearings and study that the freedom to express openly and with pride one's own unique cultural heritage is as important an issue in addressing the problems of poverty in this country as are the usually cited issues of economic self-sufficiency and the right to good education.

A related deficiency of formal education is the lack of emphasis on cross-cultural experience with the result that the public's understanding of diverse behavior patterns and culture is minimal. What exposure there is to other cultures is passive and is transmitted, in large part, by the mass media.

It is the conclusion of this Task Force that so long as the American educational system at all levels continues to isolate students behind four walls with peers of their own social and economic class while refusing to give students opportunities to live and work within real cross-cultural experiences, racism and discrimination will continue to be pervasive influences in American society.

Indian Education

8.2g Indian children are forced to attend Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) boarding high schools away from their homes. There are no high schools in Indian communities. Many teachers in Indian schools are not chosen by the community. There are many job training programs, but they do not lead to jobs on the reservation and there are few recreational activities. We propose the following:

1. High schools should be set up in Indian communities.

2. High schools should have Indian staff.

3. The Indians in each community should choose staff, plan curricula, and select materials for their children.

4. Funds should be provided to establish community colleges.

5. Job-training programs should lead to jobs on the reservation.

6. Recreation programs and facilities should be set up in Indian communities.

Bi-Lingual Education for Spanish-Speaking

8.2h This Task Force realizes that Spanish-speaking Americans are handicapped in the educational system and in the job-market.

We recommend that a comprehensive bi-lingual education program be created and that it be available to Spanish-speaking students at an early age, such as Head Start classes; and that where a professional bi-lingual teacher is not available to teach in schools with Spanish-speaking enrollment, persons from the Spanish-speaking community be employed as teacher aides to facilitate communication and understanding with students who are not proficient in English.

Educación Bilingue

— Este Grupo de Trabajo estima que los norteamericanos de habla española están en desventaja en el sistema educacional y en la disponibilidad de empleos.

Recomendamos que sea creado un vasto programa educacional bilingue y que esté a disposición de estudiantes de habla española de temprana edad, tales como los cursos del "Head Start" y que cuando no se disponga de maestros bilingues para enseñar en escuelas con enrolamiento de estudiantes de habla española, sean empleadas personas de la comunidad de habla española en calidad de ayudantes, para facilitar la communicación y el entendimiento con los estudiantes que tienen dificultades con el idioma inglés.

Testing Standards are Biased

8.2i I-Q tests have been widely used across the nation as a basis of the tracking system in elementary and high school education. Performance on these tests is the decisive factor for future jobs and opportunities for higher education. Mentally retarded and slow learning classes are disproportionately filled with children of minority and poverty backgrounds because of the inability of this testing procedure to relate to them. The inherent inequities in this type of culturally biased testing are further perpetuated by the tracking system.

We hold that this type of testing and the accompanying track system are an arbitrary and discriminatory means of categorizing poor people. Therefore, the administration of I-Q tests or their equivalents should not be used as a measure of a child's potential and abilities.

Vocational and Higher Education

8.2j This Task Force recognizes and supports the commitment undertaken by the Federal government to provide truly equal opportunities for all citizens. In order to facilitate this goal of proportionate representation of poor and minority persons in 4-year institutions of higher education, vocational and junior college education, this Task Force recommends the following:

Vocational-Technical Education: (a) That the President and the Congress significantly increase the amount of funds available for high-quality vocational-technical education training for poor youth and, equally important, that these schools be located within the communities where poor youth live; (b) That vocational programs be offered in junior high and high schools for students whose talents lie outside the academic sphere so that they may develop these talents and receive the praise and confidence received by academic achievers; (c) That work-study programs be expanded in terms of both philosophy and funding. In addition to providing cash income, the high school and college work-study programs can be used as training vehicles to prepare students for a vocation or profession either temporary or permanent.

Higher Education (a) That the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP) be not only retained but expanded and that increased funds be made available for the grant-in-aid portion of this program, until the goal of proportionate minority and poor representation is met; (b) That community junior colleges be within 30 miles of any potential student and that these institutions become open-door colleges serving the needs of poor students; (c) That state legislatures throughout the country re-evaluate their state scholarship programs and immediately begin undertaking the direct aid or the grant approach in assisting students to defray the cost of their educational expenses; (d) That a Teacher Internship Program be established for residents of poor areas. While they are being trained, all persons would receive an adequate living allowance. They would work with children, not as mimeograph operators or secretaries. Training, which would lead to full professional status, would include credits for life experience, work experience, and regular academic courses.

Housing

8.3 Today as a direct result of massive indifference on the part of our government we face a full-scale housing famine in America. *In our country where 43 million Americans do not have an adequate income, as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we find that all poor people, including welfare recipients, the unemployed and even the low wage earners, are unable to buy new homes, renovate old homes or even pay the meager rents in rent-subsidized housing. We see the only method of dealing with this mammoth crisis as the declaration of a national housing emergency; and that concurrently national economic priorities must be reoriented to focus on the housing needs of the poor.*

In 1949, Congress set a national housing goal — to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Today, 22 years later, we have not come close to achieving that goal. In fact, the housing needs of the nation's poorest families are more acute than ever. The Task Force is convinced that the nation's housing programs have not been implemented to serve the poor. Indeed, housing programs for low income urban residents have not reached 10 percent of their constituency; in rural areas, they have yet to reach 5 percent of those in need.

Right to Safe, Decent and Sanitary Home

8.3a Every American has a moral and legal right to a "safe, decent and sanitary home." Further, we feel that until such time that a guaranteed adequate income, consistent with the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is instituted for every American, the government must provide a safe, decent and sanitary dwelling with adequate space for all Americans, whatever the cost.

National Agency for Adequate Housing

8.3b We call upon the President to declare a national state of emergency, and reorient national economic priorities to focus on the housing needs of the poor.

To meet this drastic need, we call for the consolidation of all Federal, state, and local housing agencies (including the Farmers Home Administration) into one supervisory agency called the *National Agency for Adequate Housing.* Extensions of this agency should be located in all appropriate political subdivisions.

The control of this Agency is to be shared equally, on all levels, by the administration and those non-governmental organizations that represent the recipients of Federal housing assistance (such as the National Tenants Organization and National Welfare Rights Organization). This Agency will have a specific mandate to follow closely the resolutions of this report.

Included in this Agency will be a special unit for Emergency Rural Home Development to deal with the housing problems of the rural poor.

Low Income Housing Start of at least 50 percent

8.3c *In order to expedite the construction of low-income housing, we recommend that at least 50 percent of all future housing starts be in the low income category.* Within the next year, a national housing survey should be made. This survey will determine by political subdivision the precise percentage of low-income housing required. Each political subdivision will be responsible for the implementation of the housing survey recommendations. If any subdivision fails to come into compliance within six months of publication of the survey, the Governor of that state shall be empowered to enforce compliance by any means at his disposal. If there is a continued failure to produce the appropriate housing ratio, the President shall, through the Agency for Adequate Housing, produce compliance.

Implementation: An extensive program for implementation is included as an appendix to the Task Force Report on Poverty.

Health Care

8.4 Seven major obstacles prevent the provision of adequate physical and mental health services for the nation's poverty population:

1. The inability of poor Americans to afford health care.

2. A health care delivery system unequipped to serve the poor chiefly because of geographic maldistribution of medical personnel and services.

3. Exclusion of the poor from policy-making within the health care system.

4. Lack of accountability of governmental and voluntary agencies.

5. Lack of effective programs for health and family life education.

6. Lack of coordinated planning for the resolution of the nation's medical programs.

7. The cost of medicine, particularly when prescribed by brand name, often prohibits the marginally poor from following their medical programs;

Federal Responsibility

8.4a *The Task Force recommends that adequate health care be an inherent legal right of every American.* Fulfillment of this right requires the development of a national health plan that will include the following elements:

1. *Universal coverage for all residents of the United States.* No one shall be denied participation because of income, race, creed, color, geographical location, age, sex, citizenship status, or for any other reason.

2. *Comprehensive health services available to all.* The following types of health services should be provided: preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic, rehabilitative, health maintenance, and health related custodial care.

3. *High quality health care must be delivered.* Program support should be restricted to those providers who meet standards of quality, effectiveness, and efficiency determined by regional accrediting bodies composed of health care professionals and consumers of health services.

4. *Equal access to health care delivery system.* Comprehensive and specialized health services should be distributed throughout the nation in accordance with the population as a whole and poverty and rural areas in particular.

5. *Development of additional manpower.* Federal monies should be made available to stimulate the development of educational facilities for the training of health personnel. Federal traineeships, loans, and grants to health care training institutions should be used to stimulate the entry of individuals to the health professions. Supplemenary funds should be made available to students from poverty backgrounds and to the institutions that train them. A related program to recruit and train paraprofessional personnel must

be implemented and must include built-in opportunities for additional training and upward mobility.

6. *Federal financial incentives to guarantee effective distribution of health care services.* Economic incentives should be used to promote an adequate distribution of personnel and facilities so that rural and ghetto areas may have access to a full range of health services.

7. *Federal support for medical research should receive a high priority.* Special efforts should be made available to support research designed to identify and solve the special health problems of ethnic minority groups, such as sickle cell anemia.

State and Local Responsibility

8.4b At the state and local levels, the following is recommended:
1. *Consumer participation in policy-making.* At each level of service delivery, consumers, representative of the service area of the facility or service, must have the opportunity to participate, along with health care professionals, in the development of policy and the evaluation of the overall impact of the service delivery unit.

2. *Attention to case finding and public education.* Regardless of the quality of health care services, these services will not be comprehensive or adequate for thousands of Americans unless outreach programs are included which provide health education and screening activities, transportation services, rehabilitative, and follow-up care. The system should provide that health personnel reach the consumer at his level of need within the community. Specific efforts must be directed to health and family life education within the community and school system and the maximum development of public health facilities and community resources.

3. *Treatment of minors.* While under normal circumstances it is prudent to involve parents or legal guardians of a minor in his treatment plan, the public welfare will better be served by removing barriers that prevent minors from seeking care. *It is therefore important to enable health care personnel to provide treatment and counseling to minors without the involvement of their parents in the following problem areas: drug abuse, birth control, and veneral disease.* State and local laws should be changed to facilitate this practice.

4. *Abortion.* It is recommended that the concept of abortion be removed from the legal arena and left to a decision that may be reached between the doctor and his patient.

5. Voluntary sterilization should be made available to those who wish it.

6. We condemn legislation or acts which promote involuntary sterilization because we believe that it is a step toward genocide of poor people.

Hunger and Health Care

8.4c During the period of phasing out the present welfare system the problem of hunger persists. The Task Force recommends that the Administration and Congress address itself to the question of hunger in America immediately. We recommend:

1. That the President declare a national hunger emergency and use the authority he has to assure that no American in need goes without Federal food assistance;

2. That the Food Stamp program be expanded to every appropriate political subdivision in the nation;

3. That the budget request for fiscal year 1972 for the Food Stamp Program be increased to 2.75 billion dollars to accomplish recommendations 1. and 2., and 3.5 billion for fiscal year 1973;

4. That the Department of Agriculture henceforth base Food Stamp Value of Coupon Allotment on the low-cost Food Plan ($134 per month for a family of four);

5. The Task Force opposes any "Cash-Out" of Food Stamps in a guaranteed income proposal unless that cash-out is on a dollar-for-dollar basis.

Recreation

8.5 There is a continuing need for better recreation programs serving poor youth in both urban and rural areas. One of the most immediate needs of poor youth is in recreational facilities in their own neighborhoods to give them "something to do." *Adequately funded recreation programs, proposed by poor youth themselves, could yield numerous benefits in areas such as crime, drug abuse, education, and environment.*

Federal aid for youth recreation programs has been severely limited in the past, consisting mainly of projects initiated by OEO groups at the local level or through the Mayors' Youth Opportunity projects funded by the President's Council on Youth Opportunity in the nation's 50 largest cities. These efforts have been wholly inadequate in meeting recreational needs of young people. Most other Federal recreation programs provide funds only for the building of parks, lakes and other large public works in recreation programs which are not accessible to youth in poverty areas.

Youth-Originated Programs

8.5a Because the interest of young people in the country varies so greatly from region to region and community to community, it is difficult to propose Federal legislation to meet this need. With these difficulties in mind, the Task Force has drafted the following recommendation which we think can lay the basic groundwork for improving the nation's recreation resources for young people.

We recommend there be established in the appropriate Federal agency a national youth recreation program which would receive funds from Congress to fund youth-originated recreation proposals from young people across the country. There would only be two limitations on the type of project which this agency would fund: (a) that it would be a recreation project proposed by poor youth for their neighborhoods; and (b) that the programs should not compete with or duplicate existing private effort, unless that effort is not in fact serving poor youth.

Implementation: There would be a number of details which would have to be worked out to insure that maximum utilization was made of the funds available. In most communities, Community Action Programs, Local Development Districts or Mayors' Youth Opportunity Offices could be used as clearinghouse offices for youth-originated proposals from their areas. The Task Force recommends that $10,000,000 be made available on a demonstration basis, to test the effectiveness of such a program for one year. Six months after the initial funding of such recreation programs, they should be reviewed by the community which they serve to determine whether funding should continue. The level of program funding should automatically increase with a downward shift in the value of the dollar. Persons who are sympathetic with the economically and culturally deprived should be appointed in every state and territory of the U.S. to inform poor youth of the recreational and cultural activities available in their neighborhoods.

In funding recreation programs in accordance with this recommendation, special attention should be given to areas such as Indian reservations where few if any recreational facilities exist.

It is also recommended that the public schools do their part in providing recreational facilities by allowing their gyms and other facilities to be used by youth on weekends, after schools hours, and throughout the summer.

Youth Service — Learning Program

8.6 Manpower programs in the past have not adequately dealt with the employment problems of poor youth. Poor youth have been trained for irrelevant jobs which do not offer them opportunities for upward mobility. They have not been given the training and education necessary for securing self-satisfying jobs in their own communities. Therefore, we recommend that the following program be implemented:

1. A national service-learning program should be established to serve all poor youth between the ages of 14 and 24.

2. Participants in this program should receive, in payment for their services, a salary of no less than the minimum wage, with provisions for fringe benefits and salary increase on the basis of merit.

3. Participants should be trained for development of specific skills suited to their need for upward mobility. They should receive academic credit and also documentation of their skills which could be used as a job qualification.

4. Adequate supportive services should be provided, including counseling, health services, and provision for transportation to work.

5. Length of participation in the program should vary with individual skill and needs.

6. A follow-up program should be established to ensure placement in an open job market after participation in this program.

Implementation: A national body, separate from any existing body, should be established and authorized to administer this program and all existing youth manpower programs. It would contract and make grants to local public and private agencies which would conduct service-learning programs, and it would develop and encourage greater participation by state and local institutions and agencies.

An advisory Board, composed of 51 percent youth, would be established on a national and local level to advise and make recommendations to the national and local administering bodies in the areas of program planning and coordination.

Education and training of youth participants should take priority over administrative costs when determining economic allocations.

In areas where the local economy cannot support this program, such as Indian reservations, Appalachia, migrant camps and rural areas, funds should be allocated by the Federal government to develop and implement this program.

A special committee, consisting of a youth majority, should be established to ensure the implementation of the listed recommendations.

Nationalization of Appalachia Coal Mines

8.7 In Appalachia, strip mining has caused injury to miners, black lung disease, and the destruction of natural resources. In addition, the natural resources of Appalachia are mined with very little benefit accruing to the people of the region. This leads to only one conclusion: the industry must be nationalized or preferably Appalachianized so that the people will have the power to halt the needless death and human suffering and be able to reclaim the wealth generated from mining industry which is rightfully theirs.

Appalachian Mountain Authority

8.7a An Appalachian Mountain Authority, similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, should be created to own and operate the mining industry for the people of Appalachia. The wealth accrued from this ownership should be invested in needed public projects for the uplift of the Appalachian Region.

Abolishment of Strip Mining

8.7b Federal legislation should be proposed immediately to abolish strip mining as a legitimate process for the extraction of coal from the earth.

Office of Economic Opportunity

8.8 Of all OEO programs CAP comes closest to serving the poor because it comes closest to being a client-oriented program. Under CAP guidelines residents of a poverty community are expected to draw up their short and long-range plans and priorities for a local war on poverty and then wage the battle.

And it is to these recommendations from the low-income residents that the CAP programs must give their first priorities. This procedure insures the adherence to the mandate of 1964 legislation bringing OEO into being. The mandate guarantees that the poor will play a major role in establishing the programmatic priorities that directly affect their lives.

The philosophy of felt need by the poor is only viable and effective when CAP administrators and CAP boards and local officials refuse the temptation of superimposing their values upon the will of the poor.

If some CAP programs have failed to respond to the needs of the poor, the fault lies not in the basic OEO philosophy, but rather in the failure to honor the premise that the people affected must have a powerful voice in determining their destiny.

We strenuously object to the recent arbitrarily imposed across-the-board reduction in funding for all CAP programs.

CAP funding should instead be based upon the degree to which a local CAP program responds to programmatic priorities established by its low-income recipients.

Coal Mining;
Minority Report

8.9 The coal mining minority group feels that the Poverty Task Force as a whole was not aware of the true nature of strip mining and mine safety regulation issues. Furthermore, specific information was not presented to the Task Forces. Neither was there adequate discussion upon the recommendation as adopted by the Poverty Task Force. Therefore, we wish to offer a minority opinion and alternative recommendations.

1. A severance tax should be placed upon all coal. The revenue from this tax should be distributed to the state and local governments on a 40-60 percent basis respectively.

2. The minority group recognizes that strip mining is detrimental to both the physical and social environment. We further acknowledge that some strip mining can be accomplished without serious permanent damage to the environment. It is recognized that certain geographical features are conducive to strip mining and others are not. Thus the minority opinion is that a Federal mining agency should be established to formulate and execute strict strip mining regulations. A possible implementation of this could be through the establishment of a Federal agency along the lines of the Federal Reserve Board. No one associated with mining could serve in this agency.

It is recommended that this agency formulate and enforce safety regulations for all mining.

This agency should formulate and present to the local, state and Federal governments any proposals that would improve area development of coal mining regions.

(This statement was presented by a minority caucus. The Task Force considered it and voted to include it as part of the record. The Task Force also re-affirmed its support of the majority recommendation on coal mining.)

Right to Life of Unborn Child;
Minority Report

8.10 The right to life is guaranteed by our Constitution, respected by society, and considered by all as a most precious possession. This, if meaningful at all, must apply not only to the strong and affluent, but also to the weak, the poor and the handicapped. It must be defended and protected for all, but especially for those who are least able to defend and protect themselves. This defense must be embodied in the attitudes and actions of everyone in our society. But above all, it must receive the protection of our laws.

Among the weakest and most in need of protection is the unborn child. This child has the right to be born. This right must be respected and protected. Its existence cannot be left to the private determination or whim of other individuals. It cannot protect itself, but deserves the defense and protection of a society which cares for its weakest members. This protection must find expression in laws which prohibit abortion.

Moreover, the ill-effects of illegal abortion must be overcome, not by legalizing abortion, but by educational programs, service and action programs, and by enforcement of those laws which prohibit the killing of the unborn child.

(This statement was presented in response to Section 8.4b4 of the recommendation on Health of the Task Force on Poverty.)

Housing Appendix

8.11 *Housing Recommendation of The Task Force on Poverty.* Strategies for Implementation—committee report on Housing.

Rural Housing

8.11a Two-thirds of the inadequate housing in the United States is found in rural areas. Furthermore, the depressed economic and housing conditions in rural America are the cause of the mass migration of the rural poor into urban ghettos. In light of these facts, the housing workshop proposes the following:

(a) The establishment of a 5-year Emergency Rural Home Development Agency, as proposed by the National Rural Housing Alliance. This agency would be charged with the responsibility to fulfill all rural housing needs within 5 years.

(b) That until such time as a guaranteed adequate income consistent with the figures of the BLS is available for all Americans, each American who is unable to pay for a dwelling-unit due to low income must be provided with a "safe, decent and sanitary dwelling" at the government's expense.

(c) That the institution of a guaranteed adequate income is inseparable from the fulfillment of housing needs. The low-income persons who are unable to provide themselves with other needs are also unable to provide themselves with adequate housing.

(d) The establishment of regional rotating funds to supply loans for pre-mortgage costs and the homeowners' share of construction costs.

(e) The establishment of regional component housing industries making use of local natural resources as materials for building low-income component housing.

(f) The assimilation of Farmer's Home Administration into the National Agency for Adequate Housing.

(g) The restructuring of housing efforts for Indians, including:
(1) the abolition of the practice that Indians cannot obtain FHA loans because they are wards of government.

(2) the abolition of BIA control over Indian land. It is dehumanizing to the Indian that he has no say over the control and disbursement of his real property.

(3) the institution of complete community control over decisions relating to housing on the reservation. This will include free choice to: (a) institute a self-help program whereby the government supplies the materials and employs trained, unemployed Indians at a competitive wage to build their own homes, if they so wish; or (b) reject the self-help program, at which point it would become the responsibility of the National Agency for Adequate Housing to build homes that are judged by the tribal council to be consistent with the lifestyles and culture of the tribe.

(4) full implementation of the 1970 Farm Labor Act.

(h) Serving the housing needs of migrant workers, including:

(1) providing specific funds for mortgages for those migrant workers who are leaving the migrant stream.

(2) centralized camps providing housing and social services for the migrant workers who are forced to leave the migrant cycle.

(3) rest stations every 250 miles on the major routes taken by migrant workers.

(4) providing mobile homes for those migrant workers who have the desire and capability to use them.

(i) We would like to focus attention on the housing needs of Alaska. Because of the distance of Alaska from the continental U.S. and the distance of Alaska's welfare from the minds of people in the continental U.S., only a pittance of Federal money ever gets to Alaska.

Financial Mechanisms

8.11b Since adequate provisions of low income housing are directly dependent on increased allocations of money; and since the Federal government is the only feasible source of the sums needed, we call for a commitment of massive Federal funding in the low-income housing field.

(a) The key to home ownership and property maintenance is a financially sound family structure. For this reason we call for the adoption of a Guaranteed Adequate Income based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics' lower standard budget.

(b) The administration must apply pressure to the nation's financial institutions to insure that they participate fully in Federal mortgage porgrams such as section 235 of the Housing Act.

(c) The President must use the power and prestige of his office to inspire in the American people a commitment to fulfill the goal of a "safe, decent and sanitary home for all Americans."

(d) Outmoded and restrictive zoning and building codes should be reviewed in order to allow the use of new technological breakthroughs in housing.

(e) The use of the Section 23 leasing program should be greatly expanded; a requirement should be instituted that 25 to 50 percent of the occupants of any Section 23 building be low income.

Urban Neighborhoods

8.11c We must develop an understanding of the role of the neighborhood. Too often we put a new house into a tormented neighborhood only to be surprised when the house is destroyed.

(a) The administration should state publicly the inseparable relationship between poor housing, poor health, racism and inadequate education. Further, the administration must commit itself to solve all these problems in concert.

(b) The President must make use of the prestige of his office to assure that all Americans accept the necessity for a full social and economic mix in their community. Nothing short of an outright declaration by the President can be effective.

(c) No Federal program can successfully be imposed on a neighborhood without the responsible participation of the community.

(d) A metropolitan housing policy should be devised that can effectively assist in achieving the previous two points. This policy should give more than lip service to these goals, using capital incentives for compliance, and withdrawal of funds for non-compliance.

(e) Metropolitan areas should be compelled to develop neighborhood scale plans for each community. These plans should be created by the community residents with the help of advocate planners assigned to the community by the National Agency for Adequate Housing.

(f) A point of emphasis in these plans should be community determination of allocations for recreational facilities, parking, green spaces, etc.

(g) A commitment of NAAH's resources to supportive services for the vitality of the community; i.e., day care, drug rehabilitation centers, youth centers and community health services. It is further recommended that these services be free to all community people and that community participants manage the projects at all levels.

Maintenance and Rehabilitation of the Community

8.11d In order to break the pattern of slum growth, comprehensive community maintenance must be instituted. We must stop the wasteful cycle of allowing communities to deteriorate to the point where the only cure is massive demolition. We call for a commitment to retain every existing neighborhood in America as a viable and healthy social unit. We recommend:

(a) A significant commitment to the rehabilitation of existing housing.

(b) That a firm commitment by NAAH be made to deal with community capital improvements by matching on a 2:1 ratio all monies expended for residential property improvements. Capital improvements could be in the form of playgrounds, paving, etc.

(c) That private landlords and homeowners be offered relief of assessment for improvements made to their properties. In the case of landlords, incentives should be given only with the provision that tenants that live in the dwellings before the improvements will also live in the dwellings after the improvements and that their rent levels will remain constant.

(d) That the unemployed be given on-the-job training in the construction and other vocations related to the building trade on location in their own neighborhood. Further, we recommend that job training wages be set at a minimum of at least $3.00 an hour. Again, we stress maximum community participation and that work is optional, not mandatory.

Legal Rights

8.11e We affirm our belief that *all* people have a *right* to a safe, decent and sanitary home. In order to facilitate this basic human right, we recommend the following:

(a) That *all* tenants in both public and private housing have the right of a fair hearing prior to eviction and that NAAH provide counsel to all tenants.

(b) That *all* tenants be given the right not to pay rent to public or private landlords if the dwelling unit does not satisfy the requirement of a "safe, decent and sanitary dwelling."

(c) That a national housing code be developed by NAAH and that fines be imposed on landlords that do not comply; funds to go to tenant organizations.

(d) That funds for tenant organizations come directly from NAAH upon request from the community in both public and private housing and that all monies are controlled by community people.

(e) That tenants are guaranteed the right to bargain collectively with landlords and that a mechanism be set up to deal with tenant grievances.

(f) That tenants have the right to withhhold portions or whole payments of rent if the tenant chooses to make the necessary improvements to the property.

(g) That in public housing on all levels the tenants represent 51 percent of the decision-making body.

(h) That HEW cooperate with NAAH to make sure that the housing needs of welfare recipients are not overlooked.

New Technology

8.11f We make the following recommendations on housing technology:

(a) The President must use the prestige and influence of his office to get from the building trades unions a commitment to a program of production-line, low-income component housing. Without this, no significant progress can be made in alleviating the housing emergency.

(b) Component housing technology should be developed to make use of the specific natural resources of a given region. This will allow for a myriad of new regional industries and will greatly reduce the shipping costs of the components. In addition, our country will be able to return to indigenous regional styles.

(c) Building codes and zoning ordinances must be revised to allow for the use of component and mobile housing.

(d) We criticize Operation Breakthrough as a non-committal showpiece to substitute for real action. It's time to stop demonstration projects and get down to work.

New Towns

8.11g We make the following recommendations concerning New Towns:

(a) Publicly owned lands should be transferred and used, wherever possible and feasible, for the development of new communities.

To help disperse the 40,000,000 new people expected to inhabit our cities in the next ten years, selfcontained new communities with a high percentage of low income housing must be developed.

(b) Throughout the nation there are cities of under 100,000 population. These cities should be aided in efforts to provide jobs and services so that they will grow significantly. This is imperative if we hope to minimize the misery involved in the continued mass migration to megalopolis.

Retooling Industry

8.11h We make the following recommendations concerning economic conversion:

(a) We call for the President to appoint a blue-ribbon commission to make specific recommendations as to how our country can successfully go from a wartime to a peacetime economy.

(b) Component housing offers many opportunities for retooling existing factories. This is a key element in a successful attack on the housing emergency.

Negative Factors

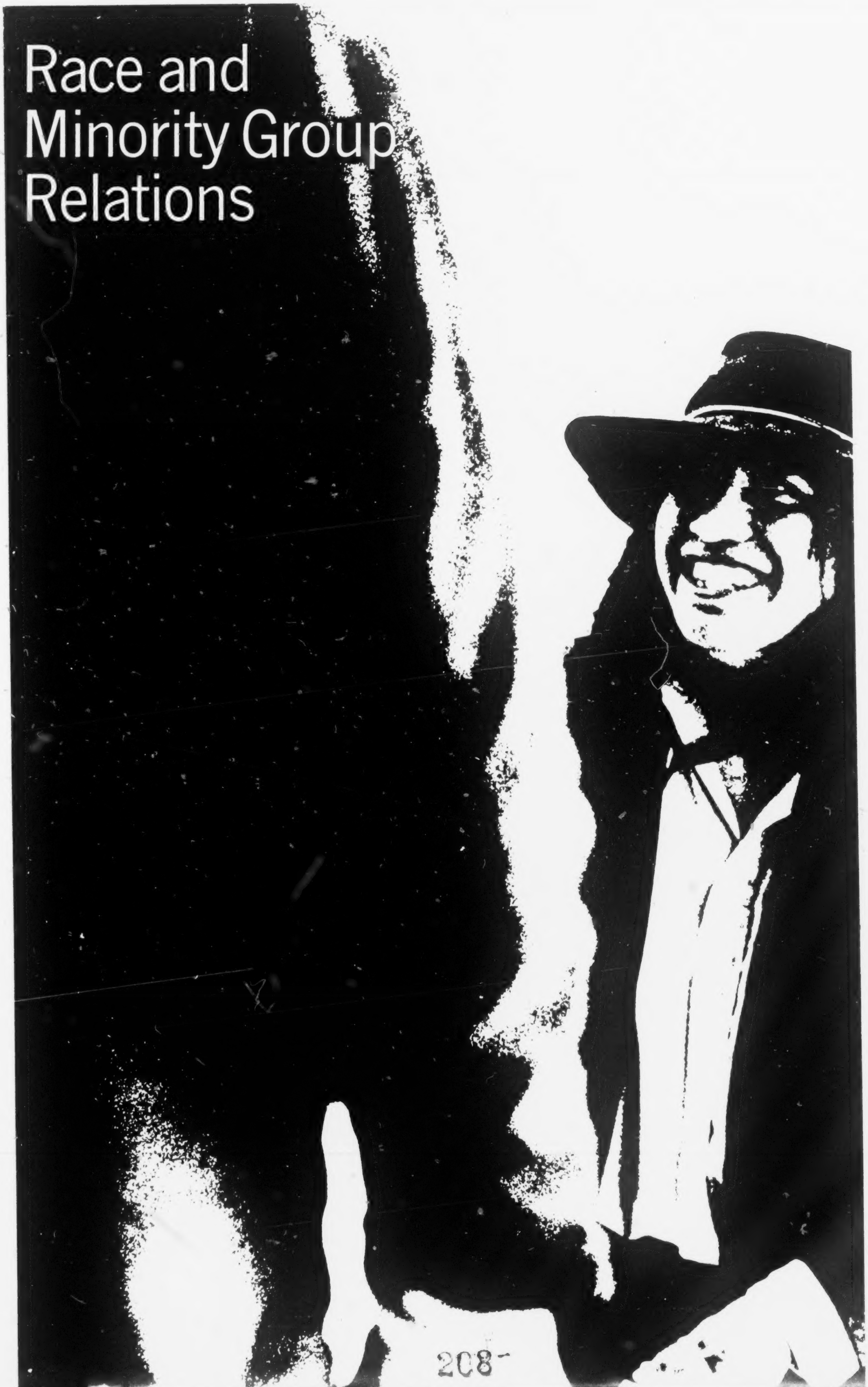
8.11i We make the following additional recommendations:

(a) Social regulations controlling the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads must be strengthened at least to the point where BPR must pay for and construct two dwelling units for each one it demolishes.

(b) There must be a significant cutback in funds for BPR. Those funds should be redirected to urban mass transit.

(C) Finally, the greatest single negative factor interfering with progress in the area of housing is the attitude of our present administration. We have an insensitive administration that is wholly and consciously unwilling to respond to a clear crisis.

Race and Minority Group Relations



Preamble

All recommendations were approved by the respective workshops and discussed by the whole Task Force.

We, as members of the Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations, have worked from the following assumptions and beliefs: The majority of this Task Force realizes that it is impossible to deal collectively with the concerns of minority groups. *We reject the American concept of the "melting pot". Accordingly, we rather chose to recognize the unique features of the cultures of the various minority groups and their right to determine the effects of racism on them.*

Why does white America need this sickness of racism? It is up to white America to take the responsibility now for this sickness which it has caused and perpetuated.

White America cannot lean on oppressed minority groups for the solution of the problems of all Americans, oppressors and oppressed. All Americans, especially the youth, must become aware of the discrepancy between the preachings of what should be done, and what is actually done.

As a result, this Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations decided to deal effectively and realistically with the problem of racism in the United States. This Task Force recognizes that any delay or procrastination on the part of those with power to implement the following recommendations perpetuates the very real and progressing cancer of white hegemony and non-white subjugation.

Scientific Racism

9.1 Scientific Racism which stems from faulty premises and popularizes the myth of inferior and superior peoples and their respective cultures is the most insidious form of racism because it permeates the value and moral structure of American society.

Asian Caucus Report

9.2 The Asian Caucus of the Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations met to inform the President and the nation of the concerns of Asian-Americans.

We, like several other ethnic minority caucuses, face similar problems brought about by American institutional racism. We strongly feel that this nation must recognize the Asian-American concerns along with the other ethnic minority concerns. Often the Asian-American is ignored in the discussion of racism, in the discussion of representation in boards, commissions, and jobs, and in the discussion of America as a whole. The lack of Asian-Americans in established institutions is of great concern to us.

The Asian-American Caucus strongly believes that ethnic minorities need not conform to the white American culture and standards. We believe that America should be a pluralistic society made up of all races and cultures.

We endorse all twelve recommendations of the Task Force. However, because we feel that the implementation should be more specific and strategic, we have made a series of additions and modifications. We have also added two recommendations dealing with the repeal of the emergency detention provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the creation of New American Centers to aid new immigrants in the United States.

Oppose Racism; Presidential Leadership

9.2a American institutions must actively oppose racism.

The Asian Caucus joins the Task Force in naming institutional racism as a major problem in American society, and it agrees that more than proclamations are needed.

Implementation: We recommend that the President of the United States officially denounce racism and initiate broad discussions across the country by community groups, civic and fraternal organizations, and churches and other religious bodies on national, state, and local levels. The Asian Caucus recommends further that these discussions be held with the purpose of reviewing institutional racism, and that the progress of these reviews be publicized in newspapers, on television, radio, and through other news media.

Textbooks Must Reflect Racial Diversity

9.2b *Those American textbooks which are used in elementary schools, secondary schools, and colleges must more clearly and honestly reflect the diverse racial and ethnic heritage of this country.*

The Asian Caucus recognizes the concern and need for accurate minority representation in history, literature, music, art, and all curricula. The history of the Chinese in America is rarely mentioned although it has played a significant part in the history of the building of America. The history of the Japanese concentration camps is an ugly blot in the history of the American democracy, and it is never mentioned. The rich classical and folk literature and arts of the Asian and Pacific peoples are rarely studied as part of world literature and arts.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus therefore not only recommends that students, parents, teachers, boards of education, school personnel, book publishers, and authors demand the inclusion of Asian perspective in all facets of education, but that the Federal government establish facilities and provide funds for the research of the true histories of minority groups in America and for research into curricula for students at all grade levels.

Understanding of Racial Cultures

9.2c All Americans should be encouraged to know the culture of each racial and ethnic group in the country. The Asian Caucus could well identify with this recommendation of the Task Force. Misconceptions as to their cultures and social status were many at the Conference, as were their own misconceptions of other ethnic groups.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus therefore recommends that Federal and state agencies make funds available to racial and ethnic minorities for the establishment of regional and national non-profit cultural educational centers, as the Task Force did, with the suggestion that the Federal government also fund a pilot project to take place at the University of Hawaii's Center For Cross Cultural Training and Research at Hilo. This pilot project would bring white members of large American institutions to workshops in sensitivity to the understanding of peoples of other ethnic cultures and vice versa.

Bilingual Education Program

9.2d *Bilingual–Bi-cultural education must become a reality.*

This proposal is particularly of concern and importance to the Asian Caucus, as there is a great need for bilingual and bicultural education for Asian immigrants to America. Bilingual programs do exist for Chinese immigrants, but there are not nearly enough programs to meet the need, and practically none exist for Filipino immigrants who have a great need for them.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus therefore recommends that Federal subsidies be made available to states so that every school with at least 10 percent of its students for whom English is a second language could provide a free bilingual–bi-cultural education program.

Youth Participation in Decision-Making

9.2e Youth must be given more decision-making responsibilities, especially in areas which directly affect their lives.

The Asian Caucus asserts that by the very dedication and hard work that youth have put into the White House Conference on Youth, they demonstrate that they are both willing and capable of commiting themselves to effecting legitimate political and social change. At the same time, the minority youth on the various Task Forces have shown clear responsibility to the elimination of racism.

The Asian Caucus therefore also recommends to all Federal, state, and local governments as well as private institutions which serve youth to include young people as a significant part of their policy-making bodies, and that those organizations which serve minority youth include minority young people as a significant part of their policy-making bodies. This would include lowering the age restriction on elective positions to 18 or 21 wherever possible, and involving youth in full participation in the planning, policy-making, and implementation of issues which affect them.

Job Opportunities and Testing

9.2f A national campaign should be waged to broaden meaningful part-time and full-time job opportunities for racial and ethnic minority youth.

The Asian Caucus recognizes the position of the Task Force that there should exist for every American a standard of living below which no one would be expected to live, and the fact that many youth *must* work to remain in school and/or support their families. As members of a minority group, the Asian Caucus could also strongly relate to the fact that youth unemployment is heaviest in minority communities.

Implementation: Therefore, the Asian Caucus joins the Task Force in recommending that the President and Congress initiate programs to either create or generate meaningful employment opportunities for minority youth 16 to 24 in school and out, and that this work should either be apprentice in nature or give youth some opportunity to see the wide variety of jobs which are available. The Asian Caucus further recommends that one step in such change would be the administration of equivalence tests to the Civil Service Examination to racial minorities and the poor who often cannot qualify for a job for which they are capable because they cannot pass a standardized Civil Service Examination (that is, standardized to American white values).

Coordinated Services

9.2g Coordinated recreational, educational, and counseling services must be made available for all youth throughout the country.

The Asian Caucus expresses particular concern for the lack of centers where youth might gather for recreational or educational purposes in their communities. Asian poverty communities such as Chinatown, San Francisco, urgently need space, facilities, equipment, and staff for both day and night recreation for youth.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus supports the Task Force's recommendation for joint community action in the establishment of a Youth Multi-Service Center, but sees where communities such as Chinatown may be too crowded to allocate such space, and where communities such as the Filipino community in San Francisco may be too poor to establish centers. It therefore recommends that public buildings such as schools and armories be considered as buildings already established with space and equipment and suitable for recreation, library use, and tutoring. State and local governments and agencies should staff, equip and fund such projects.

Radio and Television

9.2h The (radio and television) media which lease the public air waves must begin to better serve their entire listening and viewing audience.

The Asian Caucus strongly agrees with the Task Force position that the American public is badly served by the broadcast media. Asians feel that television has been one of the foremost perpetuators of Asian stereotypes. Rarely are Asian actors and actresses cast in any television roles, but those who are most often cast as cooks, laundrymen, sly spies, or exotic peoples. Never are they portrayed as the family next door.

The Asian Caucus also believes that almost no time is devoted to Asians in public service time, even in San Francisco, where Asians comprise about 15 percent of the total population. Therefore, the Asian Caucus joins the Task Force on Race and Minority Relations in recommending to the President that he appoint able, involved members of all minority groups to the Federal Communications Commission, and that the FCC look to providing more public service time at prime time to serve the interests of the community. This recommendation is closely related to Recommendation #3, in that public service time could be used to broadcast cultural events and documentaries.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus feels that community control of the airwaves is essential for obtaining responsive broadcasting. In addition, it recommends that the Federal Communications Commission should offer scholarships to train Asians and other minority groups members for media staff in order that the coordination and presentation of the news be made by people whose attitudes reflect the thinking of the minority communities served. The Asian Caucus also recommends that the FCC require applications for renewal of licenses to be made public and to be made at least three months before the expiration date to ensure public access to and time for study, consent, or dispute of the station's licence renewal.

Educational Exchanges

9.2i The concept of educational exchanges of students, faculty, and administration of different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds within a city or state should be endorsed and initiated.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus felt that few people were aware of their Asian communities, and that both the members and non-members of the community suffered by it. Some people know about Chinatown, San Francisco, for example, and some have even visited it. But few know about the poverty, sickness, mental illness, juvenile delinquency, and general frustration which goes on there. Consequently, most people know a Chinatown which exists only for the tourists, and little concern is given to solving its real problems.

Implementation: Therefore the Asian Caucus recommends that school boards and communities throughout the country initiate dialogue with other school systems inside and outside of their state to determine the feasibility and desirability of educational exchanges.

Puerto Rico Appropriations

9.2j The basis on which Federal expenditures are determined for youth activities should be applied equally to Puerto Rico as to the fifty states.

The Asian Caucus joins the Task Force in recommending to the President and the Congress that the special formula allowance which is used for Puerto Rico appropriations be discontinued and the same basis used for the 50 states be instituted instead.

Solving Social Problems

9.2k A National Minority Youth Foundation should be established by the Federal government to provide grants to private non-profit youth organizations which offer innovative approaches to solving the social problems of racial and ethnic minority youth.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus believes that the National Minority Youth Foundation would be important in spotlighting the concerns of minority youth, and that such a funding source is badly needed for programs which are worthy but poor in Asian communities.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus joins the Task Force in recommending to the President and Congress of the United States that they investigate the possibility of establishing such a national body with the desire of making it a reality within the next three years.

Community Control of Indian Education

9.2l *The past approach to Indian education should be abandoned by the Federal government with the power to make decisions given to the Indian people themselves.*

The Asian Caucus joins the Task Force in recommending to the Federal government that Indian communities be given the right to control and operate their own schools. It is also our concern that the Johnson-O'Malley funds which are presently given to school districts to help Indian children in public schools be channeled directly to Indian tribes and communities, thus allowing the Indian community to either have far greater influence in those public schools where large percentages of their children attend or permit them to form their own school systems.

Repeal Emergency Detention Law

9.2m *Title II, the Emergency Detention provision of the Internal Security Act of 1950 should be repealed immediately by the Congress of the United States.*

This law authorizes the detention, imprisonment, and relocation of American citizens during times of national emergency based upon mere suspicion without any proof that they have committed any crime. It authorizes on a continuing basis what was done to the Japanese-Americans living in the United States during World War II.

During World War II, thousands of Japanese-Americans were accused of being dangerous conspirators with the enemy, although not one was ever arrested for espionage. They were forcibly evacuated from their homes without compensation, and relocated in isolated detention camps as prisoners in various parts of the country. Such acts were not only unconstitutional, but fully racist. They denied the judicial process of law, and they singled out an ethnic minority group to imprison and punish. The Japanese were shown no evidence or just cause for their evacuation, nor were they accorded the right of fair trial. In the same war, America was also fighting Germany, yet the German-Americans were not evacuated and relocated in concentration camps.

As long as this law remains on the books, the rights of American citizens are in jeopardy. For many years many people have worked hard to have Title II repealed, but up until now they have met with little success. Last year its repeal was passed by the Senate, but not by the House. This year, a bill to repeal it has just been unanimously voted out of the House Judiciary Committee.

The Task Force on Race and Minority Relations opposes the efforts of the House Internal Security Committee to amend the Emergency Detention Provision of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and urges its total repeal by the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States.

Program for Newly Arrived People

9.2n "New American Centers" should be established in areas where settlement of foreign immigrants is heavy to assist immigrants in adjusting to the new life they find in the United States. The centers should be established by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in conjunction with immigration officials.

The proposal for New American Centers to assist immigrants recognizes the plight of peoples newly arrived from foreign countries to the United States. When Chinese, Filipinos, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other groups come to this country, they face certain problems and have certain needs which only immigrants have. They do not speak English, and therefore cannot seek jobs outside their own ethnic communities, and their children need intensified bi-lingual programs. Since many immigrants are forced to live in their ethnic ghettoes, they share a common language understanding, and way of life. There is an increased need for clinics, hospitals, and public health services. Crowded conditions mean more stress, a higher rate of disease, and less recreation space. Delinquency increases.

Social service agencies are woefully inadequate in serving recent immigrants. Federally-sponsored New American Centers should be established, not to impose white American values upon the immigrants, but to teach them essential English and skills for adapting to American society. This would include providing day care centers for mothers who must work, offering English classes which would teach new Americans adequate English to buy in American stores, use public transportation, register at hospitals, and perform other activities essential to daily life. Orientation classes should also give an understanding of the economic, political, and social systems which affect them. In addition, tutorial programs could be set up in these centers, as well as recreation programs for youth. The list of needs and possibilities is endless, but it should be emphasized that such programs would not deny or suppress the native cultures of the new Americans, but respect it for enriching the American society as a whole.

Implementation: The Asian Caucus recommends that the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in conjunction with the Bureau of Immigration, establish New American Centers in areas where immigrants settle in substantial numbers, seeking to enable immigrant people of other cultures to survive within the framework of the American society.

Black Workshop Report

9.3 We unanimously support the black United States Congressmen in their effort to get the Nixon Administration to respond to their questions concerning its handling of the problems relating to black people.

Self-Determination for Blacks

9.3a *The present institutional structure of racism in America is unable and unwilling to change by itself. Only non-white oppressed people can develop viable opposition and create alternatives to these institutions.* The survival of this socio-economic and political system depends upon the Federal government and other white institutions making available, on an unconditional basis, financial and technical resources to blacks specifically, and other oppressed people generally, in programs of self-determination. This investment should reflect at a minimum the annual military expenditure.

It is essential to initiate a domestic plan to counteract the social and psychological disorders among blacks caused by white racism, i.e., drugs, prostitution, poor housing, etc.

Education; Black Studies

9.3b *Resolved, That every school ,black and white, receiving Federal funds, require Black Studies and require that blacks have representatives on the board which chooses curriculum and books.*

Black Studies: (1) The incorporation of black representation in *all* textbooks at *all* educational levels.

Course Structure: (1) Courses which impart the knowledge necessary for daily life (i.e. home management, employment, employment information, etc.) should be offered. (2) Courses should be offered to prepare non-college-bound youths for an adequate family income, (i.e. trade schools, vocational studies, etc.).

Teaching Requirements: (1) "Humanism" incorporated into the rules of teaching. (2) College level future teachers should be required to learn how to deal with the socially deprived, mentally retarded, the exceptional child, etc. Teachers should be granted tenure only after evaluation in terms of competence and effectiveness; and teaching resources should reflect the needs of all students.

Foreign Policy with Non-White Nations

9.3c We recommend that United States foreign policy must be guided by the universal principle of "equality" of all peoples: (1) We demand a change in immigration policies to make entrance into the United States from black and white countries the same. (2) We demand an equality of foreign aid and assistance (technical and monetary) for all countries. (3) The United States must cease the investment and economic control (and therefore governmental control) which make developing nations of black and non-white countries become satellites of the U.S. (4) Promote the exchange of black personnel among diplomatic staff and terminate the promotion of division among blacks and other oppressed peoples.

Employment Programs for Minorities

9.3d Institutional racism has manifested itself in the employment of racial and ethnic minority youths. This is evident in the discrimination practices in apprenticeships and labor unions and employment standards set by agencies which systematically exclude minorities because of their socio-economic background. The employment of minority youth is essential to the upward mobility of the black people.

The Black Caucus resolves that the President of the United States, the Department of Labor, and national employment agencies and unions be advised by minorities affected by inequitable employment practice and initiate from their recommendation programs to counteract these conditions, and that: (1) All employment examinations be designed with questions relevant to the job sought. (2) Creation of labor force minimum quotas for minority labor involved in public works. (3) Extensive apprenticeship and on-the-job training with incentive pay be established and expanded among minority youths not enrolled or unable to enroll in school. (4) The Federal government establish programs for summer employment among minority students who depend on these earnings to continue their education. (5) A proportionate quota of the proposed revenue-sharing funds be raised by state governments for establishing apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs among minority youth. (6) Re-establishment and expansion of these programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps be immediately initiated in order to prevent frustration and sublimation of minority youth energies in lawless violence channels. (7) The Federal and state governments influence and solicit the establishment of industrial development in minority group areas which would utilize minorities in all levels of management and labor.

Communication of WHCY Proposals

9.3e All Federal authorities support the proposition that significant segments of the population are entitled to programing service which meets their needs and interest. The Supreme Court has stressed the public right "to receive suitable access" to ideas and problems of interest and concern to their communities. Be it hereby resolved that the Federal government recognize and dedicate 1/2 hour per night of prime network time to the on-going task of reporting implementation of all resolutions formulated at the 1971 White House Conference on Youth. The total content of all productions will be controlled by minority youth. Programs will be produced by each specific ethnic group.

Voter Registration

9.3f Institutionally, the electoral process frustrates blacks and other minorities because of the power structure of the two major political parties. In regard to this, we recommend that: (1) A massive and concerted effort toward implementation of programs be made for greater vote registration as well as voter education. (2) Various federally funded institutions be established to insure adequate safeguards against intimidation and infraction of the rights of voters at the polls.

Law and Justice are Biased Against Blacks

9.3g *Since its inception, the United States has maintained a racist and dual system of law enforcement and criminal justice. This has resulted in a disproportionate amount of black and other minorities being found guilty of crimes and the subsequent more severe sentences.* Consequently, depending on the locality, penal institutions contain from 60 percent to 80 percent minorities despite the fact that these comprise less than 16 percent of the total population. Phrases such as "crime in the street" or "a man's home is his castle," "no-knock" laws and "search and seizure" techniques, have all contributed to making a law and order society and not a just society. The Black Caucus concluded that there can be no law and order today without the right combination of law-order and justice.

To help achieve this, Federal, state, and local governments must insure that funds received under the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Act or direct grants from the Department of Justice are used to: (1) promote better police-community relations; (2) recruit more minority group policemen; (3) revamp courts; (4) humanize our penal institutions and improve the delivery system of justice—as opposed to purchasing anti-riot equipment and other hardware which serves to further oppress ghetto residents.

We are also concerned that too few juries consist of a "jury of peers" in cases involving blacks.

Finally, we must reinstate for black people the system of justice which indicates that a person is innocent until proven guilty. The situation that surrounds black liberators suggest that the reverse is true—blacks are guilty until proven innocent.

Why are drugs allowed to flourish in black communities? Get drugs out of our community. Stop the financiers. Stop the pushers.

Why are young black women allowed to prostitute in full view of observing police? Replace corrupt police with blacks who care. The connection between prostitution and drugs is obvious.

When young blacks are imprisoned they are questioned by parole boards about political concepts; i.e., what do you think of the Black Panthers? The Muslims? Angela Davis? Questions normally asked whites about rehabilitation actions such as jobs, housing and sponsorship are not considered. These are institutional acts of "genocide."

Health and Welfare

9.3h We resolve that: (1) Funds for health care be made available to all black people to cover the full cost of doctor's fees, medicine, and hospitalization for both mental and physical health problems. (2) The black woman has the freedom to control her own body. It must remain her choice to decide whether and when she will give birth. (3) There be adequate prenatal and post-partem care for all black mothers and children. (4) Massive financial aid be invested into bringing the percentage of blacks in professional capacities in the field of medicine up to the percentage of blacks in the population as a whole. (5) Guaranteed annual income be instituted by the Federal government in accordance with its responsibility to "promote the general welfare" of its people. (We reject, however, the philosophy that in order for a human being to survive he must agree to perform degrading tasks in dead-end jobs for slave wages.) (6) The welfare system be humanized so as to reflect in its administration a respect for the inherent worth of every individual. An individual whose dependence is the result of institutional racism at work on all levels of society must not be patronized and condescended to by those who have succeeded in the system at his expense and who continue to prosper solely because he exists. (7) The administrators of the welfare system be prohibited from requiring the acceptance of white standards of behavior, family structure, and culture of those black people who seek their rights under the system.

Implementation: In order to implement the above recommendations, as well as those of the minority group caucuses:

We recommend that the President create a cabinet level Department of Racial and Linguistic Minority Group Affairs; that this department be headed by a member of the concerned groups; that its staff be composed of persons in proportion to the representation of these minorities in the national population; that this department be empowered to advise and make binding recommendations to all other departments, offices, and bureaus of the Federal government on their aspirations, programs, and staffing as these areas impinge on the rights and privileges of racial and linguistic minorities; that this department translate and interpret the desires and aspirations of racial and ethnic minorities to all other agencies of the Federal government; that it develop and submit legislation to the Congress of the United States representing the requirements and demands of its client groups; that it incorporate into its organization a legal staff which will represent minorities in class actions on all levels of the judicial system; that this department be charged with the implementation of the recommendations of the Race and Minority Group Relations Task Force of the White House Conference on Youth as its first priority.

Euro-American and White Ethnic Workshop

9.4 The goal of our workshop is to explore the basic cause of racism and to determine what this group can do to encourage its elimination. In accordance with the Kerner Report we believe that a basic problem is white racist attitudes and institutional income. Many recommendations are made and will be proposed; however, we believe that recommendations will not be implemented effectively as long as white racist attitudes exist.

With the belief that we need to re-educate our white people and ourselves, we have come up with the following suggestions for re-education and awareness of racism:

Part of the reason for racism is the use of oppressed minority groups as scape goats for frustration that racist whites experience in their lives and especially their work situation.

One way to give white people an understanding of what it is to be discriminated against, is role playing exercises.

We recommend that these exercises be studied and carried out in the context of, for instance, education and employment.

National Youth Cultural Exchange Program

9.4a We support the concept of the National Youth Cultural Exchange Program. Each year and especially in the summer, community groups, and community agencies hire groups of youth from their communities. This nation has racial and ethnic groups which have similar problems and are knowledgeable in their own problems and are not communicating as organizations as part of a national forum. If we could have a National Cultural Exchange Program the youth themselves, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Italians, Indians, Asians and youth from other ethnic and economic groups could go to other sites of community action with leaders and work in other organizations in other states and see the basic unity and common problems and common solutions shared by the entire community of youth, black, brown, white or yellow, red, rich and poor.

Apprenticeship Opportunities

9.4b *One institution where white ethnic groups have gained and held power is the labor union. We deplore the racism in these unions which have denied 3rd world people admission to the unions. Apprenticeship positions should be opened to minority groups in proportion to their representation in the community.*

Police Reforms

9.4c (The Fred Hampton Memorial Resolution) Police harassment of minority communities is a continous form of institutional racism. This must end. We therefore propose: (1) Community-elected citizen review boards to handle complaints from the community and to sensitize police departments to the needs and problems of the community. (2) Minority groups represented in number and in rank on the police force in proportion to their number in the city. These representatives should be organized and be allowed to work in the community which they represent. (3) White police should be better educated to cope with minority groups. (4) On-going sociological and psychological consultation should be available to aid in handling racial problems.

Role of Churches

9.4d Expansion of Task Force Recommendation #1 that American institutions must actively oppose racism.

1. Denunciation of racism must come from leaders in the white ethnic communities—rabbis, ministers, priests, and community leaders have the power to influence their groups.

2. Church facilities should be opened to community groups—especially those churches in the central city—for day care centers, tutoring projects, and community group meetings.

3. If the churches do not vocally support and act on these suggestions, then their real property should lose their tax exempt status.

Judicial Reform; Presidential Leadership

9.4e The President must realize his responsibility to use his appointive and directive powers to put a higher caliber of judges with stronger social conscience into the judicial system and appoint in other bureaucratic positions dedicated people with attitudes empathetic to the oppressed situation of many of this country's people.

Housing

9.4f In the area of housing some of the current inequities would be changed by the following: (1) A larger program of home loan underwriting must be instituted. (2) Strong fair trade commissions with direct powers must be set up to police the area of real estate sales and rentals. (3) The concept of scattering small units of public housing throughout a community from center city to suburbs should be instituted. (4) The construction of public housing projects and renovation of buildings for use as public housing might easily provide an area for youth training and employment.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

9.4g The Neighborhood Youth Corps program of the United States Department of Labor is an appropriate means to broaden meaningful job opportunities for minority youth. However, due to limited funding, the N.Y.C. has not been allowed to develop to its fullest capacity and has therefore been limited in its effectiveness in youth development. To the end of making a better N.Y.C. for minority youth, the following points are proposed:

1. That additional funds be appropriated for the N.Y.C. in these areas: (a) the establishment of a youth development planning department to help local N.Y.C.'s cultivate and design meaningful programs; (b) additional counselors and enrollers hired at the current minimum wage standard; (c) monies earmarked specifically for educational equipment and programs; and (d) a raise in the hourly week for all programs.

2. Substitution of the current Labor Department standards designating "poor" for the national $3600 for a family of four to separate regional standards.

3. Dropping the current guidelines pertaining to job site qualifications (i.e. municipal, governmental, non-profit agencies) to include private businesses and industries and providing these private firms will provide a designated degree of enrollee training. This would greatly enlarge the N.Y.C.'s capacity to provide the enrollee with more meaningful and productive work experience.

School Desegregation

9.4h *In the area of desegregation the law must be applied with equal force to all school systems.* When desegregation is ordered and implemented, Federal and state aid must be given to the affected systems to expedite and enrich this mixing. This aid takes the form of appropriations for items such as buses, multi-cultural educational material, new buildings and more teachers.

Italo-American Caucus

9.5 We must redefine American society, not in terms of a melting pot, but as the most ethnically and culturally pluralistic nation in the world. We admire the growing self-awareness, self-respect, and new-found pride of our minority brothers. American national identity and national purpose must be found in the cultural value systems, heritages, and sources of strength of its culturally diverse people.

If we are to develop a new agenda for the seventies:

> we must go beyond the civil rights struggle of the sixties;
>
> we must stop exploiting the fear of the ethnic Americans;
>
> we must bring together a new coalition to press for new goals and new priorities for all the poor and near-poor, including the Blacks, the Appalachians, the Indians, the Spanish-speaking, and the white urban ethnic groups.

Then we can develop a true cultural pluralism in this country and reduce the inevitable group conflict.

We want a statistical study done of the Italo-American population of the United States.

In many of the major urban cities the Italo-Americans are plagued by lack of education, decent housing and drug addiction and many of the problems that confront our black, brown, red, yellow and poor white brothers and sisters from other ethnic groups. We recognize our needs and position of oppression and we want our statistical position defined on every level and locality—education, health, housing, income and race relations and attitudes.

Education System Needs Revision

9.5a We note that the system of education of Italo-American youth and other white ethnic groups give a distorted view of the history of the white ethnic groups in America and we feel this has contributed to distorted racist actions and attitudes on the part of all whites in general. We see, in the history of the United States, the pitting of working class ethnic and racial groups against each other on the part of the economic system which has worked to divide all the oppressed peoples of the U. S. and the world. We demand that this be exposed in the American educational system so that all oppressed minorities of all colors may recognize who their oppressors are and work toward recognizing those areas of unity between all oppressed peoples, black, brown, yellow, red, and white.

National Training Program

9.5b The schools in the United States are becoming overcrowded custodial institutions. We support the concept of a National Training Program conducted on a local basis whereby the youth can learn how to fulfill themselves as human beings as well as providing them with a rewarding way to make a living. We support the concept of the work-study program whereby, starting in the junior high, a youngster could pick a vocation or profession they might be interested in, and with the cooperation of the labor unions, professional organizations and school systems, work in these jobs as aides and/or apprentices. This system would militate against racist and discriminatory practices and traditions by existing trades and professions since they will have to relate to the students as they are referred to them by the school system. This would open the trades and professions up to all minorities and would give tradesmen and professionals a much needed line of communication with all young people on a one-to-one basis, as well as opening the doors to youth who have been systematically excluded from these fields.

Non-Ethnic Workshop

9.6 Racism is the fundamental cancer of American society and its eradication should be the paramount objective of all Americans. To this end we make the following recommendations:

President Denounce Racism

9.6a *We recommend that the President of the United States, by means of a major television address, within the next six (6) months, officially denounce racism as the cancer of this society and call for action across the country by community groups, civic and fraternal organizations, businesses, churches and other religious bodies, county, municipal and state governments, and the Federal government, for the immediate confrontation with this problem.*

Institutions Eliminate Racism

9.6b And be it further stated that it is not only the responsibility of the President of the United States, as previously stated, but there must be action by every agency, public and private, social and religious, including churches of all faiths, to establish priority programs supported by the allocation of substantial human and material resources.

Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

9.6c *We recommend a more vigorous enforcement of Federal laws in the area of civil rights*, and to this end there should be increased budgetry appropriations to permit substantial increases in the staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and other agencies responsible in the area of civil rights.

Aid for Desegregation

9.6d We urge Congress to enact without further delay proposed legislation to provide financial aid to those schools charged with carrying out plans designed to cure both *de jure* and *de facto* segregation to the amount of not less than 1.5 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1972.

Candidates For Office

9.6e We strongly recommend that each voting citizen thoroughly investigate and make public the background and affiliations of each candidate in regard to racism. Furthermore, the voters should seek from each candidate a statement of his positions with regard to racism.

Textbooks

9.6f We recommend those American history text books which are used in elementary and secondary schools and colleges must more clearly and honestly reflect the diverse racial and ethnic heritage of this country. And further, that up to date pamphlets containing information regarding such textbooks be made available and distributed to faculties and school board members by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Multi-Ethnic Studies

9.6g There should be incorporated in school curricula at all levels, studies which lead to the understanding of the multi-ethnic nature of our society. In order to facilitate this, workshop type courses concerning learning of different cultures be made available and be required of *all* teachers returning to universities for required additional credits.

Testing Standards

9.6h *We recommend the revision of I.Q., admission and other tests which are discriminatory.* We demand there be reasonable alternatives taking into account language, cultural, ethnic and economic environment of persons being tested according to evaluation objectives.

Student Loans

9.6i We recommend that a student loan program be established to provide higher education to *all* students in America. Financial institutions will make the loans and a secondary market will be created at the Federal level. No repayment should be required until graduation. The term of repayment should be graduated and depend on individual circumstances.

Bilingual-Bi-cultural Programs

9.6j We recommend that every school with at least 10 percent of its students for whom English is not a "first language", establish a free, bilingual-bi-cultural program. We particularly recommend special programs to teach the English language to the non-English speaking students in their own native tongue.

Meaningful Employment

9.6k We recommend that the President and Congress initiate programs to either create or generate meaningful employment opportunities for minority youth 16 to 24, in school and out, enlisting full support by both management and labor, or give youth some opportunity to see the wide variety of jobs which are available.

We endorse the executive order directing building trade unions to open up opportunities for apprenticeship for minority groups and the proposed regulations requiring compliance if necessary. We recommend extension of this order to include all industry.

New Jobs

9.6l We endorse the Accelerated Public Works Bill pending in the United States Senate which would provide funds to help local governments to create new jobs in such areas as environment. This is complementary to the Economic Development Act.

Counseling Centers

9.6m We recommend that youth themselves begin the initial investigation to determine if coordinated recreational, educational and counseling centers can be established in their neighborhood, town, or city. Comprehensive lists of all organizations involving youth should be compiled and distributed in these communities. We also feel that these bodies that have youth programs be responsive to the needs of all minority youth groups and explore the possibility of joining with other organizations with similar interest to establish such a center. Funds should be made available by Federal, state, local, and private agencies.

Minority Counselors

9.6n We recommend that schools provide minority counselors when there is at least 10 percent of a minority group of students within the student body.

Mass Media

9.6o The radio and television media which is licensed by the public to use the air waves must begin to better serve their entire listening and viewing audience in a manner which represents the pluralistic nature of this audience.

To this end, we recommend:

1. The President of the United States should appoint able, involved minority group members to the Federal Communications Commission and encourage that body to concern itself with the complaints of inadequate representation of community interests.

2. The mass media be urged to correct the kind of stereotyped reporting which portrays ethnic groups and working class people in an unrealistic and negative light and provide regular, prime time, high-quality programs on the rural, suburban, racial, ethnic and social aspects of American society. In this regard, we recommend that the television media seek to include inter-racial families in their regular programming.

3. We endorse the ideology of the programming on National Educational Television (NET) and we urge the greater use of educational television in combating social injustices, furthering the interests of local communities, and generally in bringing people closer together.

Inter-Racial Families

9.6p *We recognize that parties to inter-racial marriage face prejudice from many directions, including their own racial groups. We recommend that efforts be made to eliminate the severe pressures these couples and their families encounter in most of the United States. In fulfilling this objective, we recommend that when the President makes his statement against racism that he asks the American people to extend to inter-racial families the same respect of personal liberties as any other American family.*

Bi-Centennial

9.6q We charge the National Commission which has been chartered to celebrate the Bi-Centennial of the Declaration of the American Independence that it establish as one of its primary goals for presentation to the nation the establishment of a truly pluralistic society and the elimination of racism and discrimination in any form.

La Raza Coalition; Recommendaciones*

9.7 *Por Cuanto:* Está sumamente claro las agencies que aplican la ley a diferentes niveles y especificamente las de nivel local, no estan cumpliendo trabajo satisfactorio; es más, en muchos casos estas agencies obstaculizan el proceso por el cual se remedian las numerosas injusticias sufridas por las personas de hable hispaña en los últimos años. Se necesitan representantes ante las cutidades públicas que provengen de la comunidad y que protejen a esas comunidades del abuso y discriminacíon por agencies públicas que no tienen escrupulos.

Demandamos: Que el presidente prepare a inicie un plan a dos años en cual representantes de hable hispaña, según nombrados agentes del orden federál y que al volver a dichas comunidades,

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* Translation begins on page 232.

apliquen que al presente no se están aplicando por nuestras supuestas agencias públicas en las comunidades de hable hispaña que estos nuevos agentes del orden identificuen a aquellos agentes que en el pasado no han cumplido con su deber correctamente. Este programa entrenaría a estos nuevos agentes en las diferentes áreas de ley con la cual trabajarán, como Derechos Civiles, Brutalidad Policial, etc.

Escuelas

9.7a *Por Cuanto:* No hay necesidad de repetir los problemas que la comunidad de hable hispaña ha sufrido bajo esta sociendad. Nuestros hijos conocen la falta de la enseñanza de nuestra cultura en las instituciones de este pais conocemos el racismo en los libros de las escuelas. Que hemos tenido muchos problemas tratando de establecer nuestras escuelas, problemas legales y financieros, hasta con las leyes locales sobre educación. También reconocemos que el presente concepto de integración no sirve su propósito; al contrario, la integracíon de la problación de habla hispaña con los gabachos, en este tiempo, resultará en la opresión de nuestra cultura. Puede que estos comentarios estímulen dudas; que algunos nos acusen de racistas de nacionalistas, y hasta de amenazar el sistema educacionál de gabacho. Pero tenemos que decir que nosotros creemos en la Raza Cósmica y su ideal, y que la gentes de hable hispaña pueden construir su propio sistema de educación.

Publicidad por
Radio y Televisión

9.7b *Por Cuanto:* Las cadenas de radio y televisión han permitido a las agencias de publicidad explotar, ridiculizar y abousar del sentido de decencia de las personas de habla hispaña.

Han causado mucho resentimiento entre los grupos minoritarios, especialmente entre los grupos de habla hispaña. Ejemplos de este tipo de publicidad son demasiadas numerosas. Creemos que la Primera Enmienda de la Constitucion (Libertad de Expresion y de Palabra) no es aplicable cuando se usa para reprimir a la gente, cualquiera que esta sea; esto se hace con respecto a la actitud mental y fisica de las gentes de habla hispaña. Este tipo de publicidad solamente puede lograr la perpetuación del racismo y consecuentemente debe ser eliminada de los medios de comunicación.

Demandamos: Que la Autoridad Federál de Comunicaciones suspenda, revoque o adjudique multas no menores de $5,000 ni mayores de $10,000 a cualquier radioemisora o estación televisora que transmita publicidad racista de cualquier clase.

Ayuda Federál a
Puerto Rico

9.7c *Por Cuanto:* Tradicionalmente, los programas de ayudas federales a Puerto Rico han sido en proporción menor a los Estados de la Union. En una sociedad donde la mayoria consiste de niños y jóvenes y en periodo donde la imagen de la juventúd puertorrigueña es una de individuos preocupados por el futuro de la comunidad; es esencial que la mayor ayuda federál sea dada a Puerto Rico.

Recomendamos: Que se considere al Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico en un plano igual a los 50 Estados de la Union, con respecto al presupuesto Federal para actividades de la juventúd.

Demandamos:

(1) Todos los tribienales deben proveer servicios de tradución adecuada y consistente cuando haya personas de hable hispaña en dichos tribunales.

(2) Deben proveer fondos federales para instrucion bilingue en todos distritos escolares donde la población de habla hispaña esté presente.

(3) Todas estadísticas del censo deben incluir categorias indicando el número de Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, y otros grupos de habla hispaña en cada area.

(4) El gobierno federál debe poner suma importancia en la mejora de la educación, salubridad y Welfare y sistemas de justicia para trabajadores migratorios.

(5) El gobierno de los Estados Unidos debe poner suma importancia en las relaciones firmes con el Latino America.

Contratos con Uniones de Construccion

9.7d *Por la presente:* Demandamos que el Gobierno Federal termine inmediatamente todos los contratos con las Uniones de la industria de constucción que no tienen representación proporcional de la minorias del area donde operan. Demandamos también que estos contratos sean adjudicados a las uniones de la industria de construcción que tienen una representación proporcional de negros, chicanos, puertorriqueños y otros grupos minoritarios.

Educación Hispaña

9.7e *Demandamos:* Que el Presidente cree una agencia de Educación Hispaña; que dicha organización sea operada por personas de habla hispaña. Esta agencia tendrá el siguente proposito:

a. La utilizacion efectiva de los fondos asignados para el uso en instituciones educacionales de habla hispaña.

b. El reconocimiento academico a las instituciones bajo su jurisdición.

c. La protección de los derechos de estas escuelas y sus estudiantes.

d. La fiscalización de los fondos para ayudar a los profesores, administradores y estudiantes de dichas instituciones y para remunerarlos a un nivel aceptable.

Salario Mínimo

9.7f *Demandamos:* Que la ley de salario minimo se suba al nivel de $4.00 la hora para los años 1971-72 y que cada año después se presenten resoluciones de acuerdo con el costo de vida.

Que todos los trabajadores migratorios y domesticos en los Estados Unidos deben estar cubiertos por la ley de salario mínimo y que estas leyes se apliquen también a los trabajadores migratorios de tarjeta verde, etc.

El Empleo de Personas de Habla Hispaña

9.7g *Por cuanto:* Todas las agencias federales que no contienen como parte de su personal la proporción de personas de hable hispaña en relación a su proporción con el total de la población son racistas y discriminatorias,

Por lo tanto: Se demanda que el Presidente por orden ejecutiva estienda un mandato por el cual cada departamento federál implemente inmediatamente un programa de adiestramiento que ponga en posiciones de responsabilidad en todos los niveles federal administrativos a personas de habla hispaña con relación a su proporción en la problación total.

Oficinas Federales

9.7h *Por Cuanto:* El Comite de Habla Hispaña del Taller de Trabajo de Racismo y Grupos Minoritarios, después de revisar las recomendaciones pertinentes, cree y declara que dichas recomendaciones son ambiguas y que detraen del verdadero problema del Racismo.

Consequentemente, hemos rechazado dichas recomendaciones y en consideración de los 12 milliones de personas de habla hispaña presentamos a esta Honorable Asamblea, las siguientes recomendaciones:

Recomendación: Que las tres agencias federales se organizen a responder a las necesidades de las personas de habla hispaña:

a. El gabinete Y Comité para las personas de habla hispaña y sus negocios.

b. Oficinas para las personas de habla hispaña y negocios, HEW.

c. Oficinas para las personas de habla hispañ y negocios, U. S. Oficina de Educación.

Que se responda inmediatamente a lo siguiente:

1. Que active sus respectivos comites de consejos.

2. Incluir estudiantes y otros jóvenes en la, comunidad.

Cupones de Alimentos

9.7i *Por cuantos:* Que de los 40 millones de personas pobres en este país, donde circulan cupones de alimentos, solo un porcentaje mínimo es incluido.

Programa Bilingue

9.7j *Recomendamos:* Que en orden de dar una oportunidad adecuada a todos los cuidadaños nacionales de habla hispaña, nosotros pedimos al Congreso de los E. U. de Norteamerica la implementacion de un programa bilingue, largamentepropuesto, Un programa que debe de ser implementado en todas las comunidades urbanes y rurales de esta Nación para que se le cree al niño una conciencia bilingue, una temprana edad, por ejemplo: en el area del desarrollo humano. El objeto de este programa es de proveer al participante la base de continuidad en relación en la comunidad integrada. Así la implementación del programa eliminará las oportunidades de discriminación en nuestras escuelas. Agregando programas proponemos el empleo de maestros de habla hispana, acreditados en una forma adecuada. Por ejemplo, el ayudante de maestro, maestro profesional bilingue, y personas que sirvieron como asistentes. También personas que serán preparadas y que eventualmente serán maestros prácticos acreditados.

Exámenes de Estudios

9.7k *Demandamos:* Que el Presidente cree un fondo federal con el propósito de establecer un programa para estudiar la validez y efectividad de los exámenes que sirven para determinar que estudiantes están capacitados para entrar en las universidades y colegios de este país. Los examenes que serán revisados son los de SAT, GRE, y ACT. Los fondos federales serán distribuidos a una asociación nacionál reconocida como el "College Entrance Examination Board."

Estos fondos seran adjudicados a esos programas que como el "College Entrance Examination Board" quieran estudiar hondamente la validez de dichos examenes. Un ejemplo de dichas organizaciones es la "Mexican-American Youth Organization de Austin, Texas."

La Sociedad Hispaña

9.7l *Demandamos:* Que por los cambios generales en esta sociedad, hacen necesario abrir el razonamiento nacional, especialmente del gobierno que sirve a la sociedad de habla hispaña.

Empezando con agencias y fondos asignados por el Congreso para las mejores y cambios necesarios de estas minorias con gran enfasis en grupos de gentes envueltas en empleos temporales de la agricultura (con interés especial para ayudar a los trabajadores emigrantes inter-estatales).

Las razones son las siguientes: La falta de entendimiento cultural; la falta de entendimiento economico y la falta de entendimiento de idiomas. El objecto es de crear sensibilidad en las personas empleadas para servir y proveer servicios. El plan será que la agencia o programa debe reclutar o pagar persona que reciba entrenamiento "sensitivo en relación a minorias". Punto esencial para las funciones necesarias, si estas agencias reciben fondos federales, o estatles para lo ya mencionado.

Como ejemplo podemos citar la falta de personal de habla hispaña en esta, la Conferencia de la Casa Blanca sobre la Juventúd, *demostrando asi la falta de consideración con las minorias.*

Cámbios en la Sociedad

9.7m Dirigida al gobierno federál de los Estados Unidos de America.
La Task Force en pobreza declara:
Educación—Empleos en General: Por los cámbios generales en esta sociedad, es necesario iluminár el razonamiento de comunidad, especialmente la del govierno que sirve a esta sociedad, empezando con aquellas agencias y fondos proporcionados por el congreso para iluminar los problemas de las minorias de habla Hispaña que se encuentran en zonas rurales, en grupos de trabajadores migratorios inter-estateles y en la agricultura temporál.

Presente privación economica.
Presente privación sociál.
Presente falta de representación politica.
Presente falta de representación total.

Requisitos
de Empleo

9.7n *Pedimos Lo Siguente:*

Que el sistema del servicio civil, nacional, estatal y en general.

Elimine los requisitos de empleo en todas las agencias responsables de dar servicios, generales a la sociedad de habla hispaña.

Inmediatamente dirigidos a agencias como: A todo nivel Civil Service, Internacional, Federal, Estatal y de ciudad.

Ejemplos: Prisiones, Hospitales, Clinicas, Policia. Servicios Informativos y Beneficencia Publica y etc.

Translation of
Recommendations of the La Raza Delegation

La Raza Recommendations

9.7 *Because:*

It is clear that the agencies which apply the law at different levels, and specifically at the local level, are not performing satisfactorily; further, in many cases these agencies form an obstacle to the process in which the many injustices suffered by our people in past years can be rectified. Community representatives who can protect the people from the abuse and discrimination practices by these unscrupulous public agencies are needed.

We Demand:

That the President initiate a two-year plan in which Spanish speaking representatives be named from among candidates suggested by the community to serve as federal agents who, upon returning to their communities, will apply what is not presently being applied by the public agencies in these communities and will further identify those federal officials who have not been complying with their responsibilities in the past. This program would train these new officials in the different areas of the law that they would be working with, such as Civil Rights, Police Brutality, etc.

Schools

9.7a *Because:*

It is not necessary to repeat the problems which the Spanish speaking community has suffered in this society. Our children recognize the lack of teaching of our culture in public institutions in this country; we know the racism which exists in the textbooks of our schools. We have had many problems in trying to establish our own schools, legal and financial troubles, even conflicts with local education laws. We also realize that the present concept of integration does not fulfill its proposed objective; on the contrary, the integration of the Spanish speaking population with the anglos would, at this time, result in the oppresion of our culture. These comments may stimulate doubts; some will accuse us of being racists, nationalists, and even of threatening the educational system of the anglo. But we say that we believe in the Universal Race and its ideals, and that Spanish speaking people can construct their own educational system.

Radio & Television Publicity

9.7b *Because:*

The radio and television networks have permitted advertising agencies to exploit, ridicule and abuse the sense of decency of the Spanish speaking.

They have caused a lot of resentment among minority groups, especially among Spanish speaking groups. The examples of this type of publicity are too numerous. We believe that the First Amendment to the Constitution (freedom of speech) does not apply when it is used to repress people, whoever they may be; this is done with respect to the mental and physical attitude of the Spanish speaking. This type of publicity can only serve to perpetuate racism and consequently it must be eliminated from the communications media.

We Demand:

That the Federal Communications Commission suspend, revoke or place fines of no less than $5,000 nor more than $10,000 on whatever radio or television station that transmits any kind of racist publicity.

Federal Aid to Puerto Rico

9.7c *Because:*

Traditionally the programs of federal aid to Puerto Rico have been proportionately smaller than that to the states in the Union. In any society where the major portion of the population consists of children and youth and in a period when the image of Puerto Rican youth is one of individuals preocupied with the future of the community, it is essential that the greatest federal assistance be given to Puerto Rico.

We Recommend:

That the Associated Free State of Puerto Rico be considered on an equal plane with the 50 States of the Union with respect to Federal aid for youth activities.

We Demand:

1. All courts must provide adequate and consistent translation services when Spanish speaking persons are in the court.

2. Federal funds must be allocated for bilingual instruction in all school districts where there are Spanish speaking persons.

3. All census statistics must include categories indicating the number of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking groups in each area.

4. The Federal government must put the highest importance on improvements in education, health, welfare, and the administration of justice for migrant workers.

5. The U.S. government must place high emphasis on firm relations with Latin America.

Contracts with Construction Unions

9.7d *For the Present Time:*

We demand that the Federal Government terminate immediately all contracts with construction unions which do not have a proportionate representation of minorities in the area where they operate. We also demand that these contracts be awarded to the construction industry unions which has a proportionate representation of Negroes, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups.

Spanish Education

9.7e *We Demand:*

That the President create a Hispanic education agency; that said organization be operated by Spanish speaking persons. This agency would have the following objectives:

a. The effective utilization of designated funds for the use of Spanish speaking educational institutions.

b. Jurisdiction over the academic accreditation of these institutions.

c. The protection of the rights of these schools and their students.

d. The allocation of the funds to help teachers, administrators and students of said institutions, and to pay them at an acceptable level.

Minimum Salary

9.7f *We Demand:*

That the minimum wage law be raised to $4.00 an hour for 1971-72 and that every year afterward it be adjusted according to the cost of living.

That all migrant workers and domestics in the U.S. be covered by minimum wage laws and that these laws extend also to green card workers, etc.

Employment of Spanish Speaking Persons

9.7g *Because:*

All agencies of the Federal government which do not employ a proportionate number of Spanish speaking people in relation to the rest of the population are racist and discriminate.

For This Reason:

It is demanded that the President by Executive Order issue a mandate by which every Federal department will immediately implement a program to remedy this situation; that they will put Spanish speaking persons in positions of responsibility at all levels according to their percentage of the total population.

Feedral Offices

9.7h *Because:*

The Spanish Speaking Committee of the Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations, after reviewing the pertinent recommendations, believes and declares that said recommendations are ambigious and that they detract from the true problem of racism.

Consequently, we have rejected said recommendations and in consideration of the 12 million Spanish speaking persons we present to this Honorable Assembly the following recommendations:

Recommendation:

That the three Federal agencies listed below organize themselves to respond to the needs of Spanish speaking people:

a. The Cabinet and Committee for Spanish speaking people and their affairs.

b. HEW offices for Spanish speaking affairs.

c. U.S. Office of Education offices for Spanish speaking affairs.

That immediate response be given to the following:

1. That their respective advisory committees be activated
2. That they include students and other youth from the community.

Food Stamps

9.7i *Because:*

That of the 40 million persons in this country living in poverty, where food stamps are available, only a small percentage are included in this program.

Bilingual Program

9.7j *We Recommend:*

A. That in order to give adequate opportunity to all Spanish speaking citizens, we ask that the Congress of the United States of America implement a bilingual program, long-proposed, a program that should be implemented in all rural and urban communities of this Nation so that children develop a bilingual concept, from an early age, for example: in the area of human development. The object of this program is to provide the participant a base of continuity in relation to the integrated community. In this way the opportunities for discrimination in our schools would be eliminated. In putting together programs, we propose the employment of Spanish speaking teachers, accredited in an appropriate form. For example, the teacher's aide, professional bilingual teacher, and persons who would serve as assistants. Also persons who would be prepared and who would eventually be licensed practical teachers.

Educational Testing

9.7k *We Demand:*

That the President create a Federal fund to establish a program to study the validity and effectiveness of the examinations that are used to determine whether students are qualified to enter colleges and universities in this country. The examinations which will be reviewed are the SAT, GRE and ACT. The Federal funds will be distributed to an association known as the "College Entrance Examination Board."

These funds will be distributed to those programs which, like the "College Entrance Examination Board," wish to study in depth the validity of said examinations. An example of said organizations is the Mexican American Youth Organization of Austin, Texas.

Spanish Speaking Society

9.7l *We Demand:*

That in order for general change to take place in this society, it is necessary to open up the national awareness, especially that of the government which should serve the Spanish speaking society.

Beginning with agencies and funds designated by Congress to change and better these minority groups, with great emphasis on groups of people engaged in seasonal agriculture tasks (with special interest in helping migrant workers who go from state to state).

The reasons are the following: the lack of cultural understanding; the lack of economic knowledge and the language barrier. The object is to sensitize the employers to the need for providing services. The plan will be such that the agency or program will compensate or pay the person who receives training to sensitize in relation to minorities. This is an essential point for the necessary functions, if these agencies receive Federal funds or State funds for what has been covered already.

For example we might cite the lack of Spanish speaking persons participating in this White House Conference on Youth, *demonstrating thusly the lack of consideration for minorities.*

Changes in Society

9.7m Directed to the Federal Government of the United States of America.

The Task Force on Poverty declares:

Education—Employment in General: For the changes that are necessary in this society, it is necessary to enlighten the thinking of the community, especially that of the government which serves this society, beginning with those agencies and funds set aside by Congress for the purpose of bringing to light the problems of the Spanish speaking who are located in rural zones, in groups of interstate migrant workers and seasonal farm workers.

The Reasons:

Present economic deprivation.
Present social deprivation.
Present lack of political representation.
Present lack of total representation.

Employment Requirements

9.7n *We Ask the Following:*

That the civil service system, national, state and in general: Eliminate the employment requirements in all the agencies which are responsible for rendering general services to the Spanish speaking society.

Immediately directed to agencies such as: All levels of Civil Service, international, Federal, State and city.

Examples: Prisons, Hospitals, Clinics, Police Forces, Information Services and Public Welfare, etc.

Values, Ethics and Culture

We dedicate this Values, Ethics and Culture Task Force report to Boone Hammond. Boone believed in us as young people and as human beings. His spirit of generosity and understanding is woven through our report and we present it as a tribute of our love and respect for him.

All recommendations were drafted by the workshops and voted on by the entire Task Force. Two discussion groups, Political Action and Citizen Effectiveness and Society's Responsibility to the Individual, did not formulate specific recommendations. The Preamble was outlined by a committee of discussion group leaders, drafted by four of these and revised and approved by the entire Task Force.

Artistic and Cultural Expressions

10.1 We agree with the findings of the 1970 White House Conference on Children that the effects of racism represent the greatest threat to the nation, and we assert that the arts constitute the most immediate and powerful force working towards the elimination of racism.

The communion among people who share an artistic expression makes prejudice base and elevates the quality of being human.

Art, being essential to the spirit of man, is a creative experience between the giving artist and the giving audience.

We strongly support the diverse cultures and their artistic expressions which collectively are the Nation.

The well being of the United States demands a firm commitment to the arts to reverse the perilous decline in the sense of what it means to be an American. Massive financial assistance will be required to accomplish this goal.

Funding for the Arts

10.1a *Resolved:* (1) *The National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities become a permanent, independent agency of the government.* (2) That a post of Director of the National Foundation for Arts and Humanities be created at the cabinet level. (3) That the National Endowment for the Arts receive its full appropriation within the limits of the existing legislative authorization for fiscal 1972 and 1973. (4) That by fiscal 1974 the appropriation for the National Endowment for the Arts be increased to no less than $1.00 per person. (5) That 40 percent of all program funds of the National Endowment for the Arts be placed into the Developing Arts Program as of fiscal year 1972. (6) That no less than ⅓ of State Arts Council Program funding from all levels be applied to ethnic and poverty art programs. Further, that these allocations be enforced by the National Endowment for the Arts and no Federal arts funding be allocated to any state or territory violating this requirement.

Office of Education

10.1b *Resolved:* (1) The Office of Education implement the recommendations of the report prepared by the Communications Foundation for the Office of Arts and Humanities of the Office of Education. (2) The Office of Education Arts and Humanities program institute a grants program to discover and develop young talent with priority given to the urgent needs of the culturally ignored. (3) The needs of the solitary artist should also be considered within the context of this program.

Kennedy Center Programs

10.1c *Resolved:* (1) The Congress appropriate funds to the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to develop an annual National Youth Festival in all forms of the arts with particular attention to the contribution of ethnic groups. (2) Further, that the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts—at its present level of funding—proceed with these programs.

Apprenticeship in the Arts

10.1d *Resolved:* The Department of Labor develop and support youth apprenticeships in every arts category.

American Bi-Centennial

10.1e *Resolved:* (1) That the American Bi-Centennial Commission reevaluate its aims for the 1976 celebration in order that it be dedicated to the redefinition, discovery and affirmation of the roots of the nation to effect a spiritual rebirth of all our people. (2) The Bi-Centennial Commission establish a Task Force to provide programs of youth in arts with specific support for expression of the diverse cultures that have created the nation. (3) Young people representing these cultures be a part of decision-making bodies to rededicate efforts to accomplish our high goals.

State and Local Support

10.1f *Resolved:* Acknowledging the importance of all the arts at all levels, state and local governments assume responsibility for material assistance to the arts through technical and financial support.

Youth Representation

10.1g *Resolved:* (1) The President appoint youth members to the National Arts Council with representation from the ethnic groups and reflective of the several arts fields. Those appointments should reach a level of ten positions by 1974. (2) The National Endowment for the Arts place one youth member on each of the seven Art Advisory Panels. (3) The Office of Education, Arts and Humanities Branch establish an Advisory Board with significant youth representation. (4) The State Department Office of Education and Cultural Affairs immediately establish a Youth Advisory Board with the same duties and responsibilities as the existing Advisory Board. (5) All state and local arts councils appoint a significant representation of youth members.

Arts Crafts Union

10.1h *Resolved:* The AFL-CIO and all professional guilds facilitate means for all young artists to become members of Arts Crafts unions with particular attention to artists of minority groups.

Implementation Committee

10.1i *Resolved:* The Implementation Committee of the White House Conference on Youth present and publicize these recommendations to the Council of Governors, the AFL-CIO, the Department of Labor, the related Senate and Congressional committees and any other group important to the implementation of these recommendations.

Arts as Societal Priority

10.1j Be it resolved by the 1971 White House Conference on Youth that: Recommendations of the Artistic and Cultural Expressions Subdivision of the Task Force on Values, Ethics and Culture be considered as a priority because the arts have been sorely neglected in our society in spite of the fact that they are basic to our human existence.

Family

10.2 We realize that we have not addressed ourselves to several areas of major concern such as responsibilities of parenthood, population growth and control, sex education and the framework of values within the family, and the right to abortion and birth control. These areas were not treated due to lack of time, not to lack of concern.

Economic Security for the Family

10.2a *Resolved:* That Congress address itself to the need for economic security for the family, including: (1) High quality child care centers should be made available through public funds with the dual purpose of enriching child development and freeing parents for development of their own potential. (2) A parent in a single-headed family should have the choice of going to work or staying home to care for his or her children. In a two-parent home the non-breadwinner has the same choice. (3) Educational and vocational opportunities should be especially available, through public funds, for both mothers and fathers whose incomes are below the adequate family income standard. (4) Every family should be guaranteed a minimum adequate income with built-in work incentives.

Acceptance of Alternative Life Styles

10.2b *Resolved:* There be an acceptance of a wide variety individual and family life styles. *When children are involved in the relationship, the favorable child-rearing environment is that of the stable, long-lasting relationship of a man and a woman. This does not mean that this standard shall be imposed on people who are living in other arrangements. Individual freedoms are limited by the responsibility of child-rearing.*

Minority Resolution

10.2c *A minority resolution is that the purpose of marriage should be to bear and be responsible for children.*

Mass Media and Its Uses

10.3 One of man's most basic needs is the need to communicate. Youth and adult alike wish to be heard, to communicate from their hearts and minds to others. But with this most natural desire comes an equally important obligation, the need to listen—with both heart and mind—to what the other individual has to say.

We believe a two-way process of communication to be of deep significance to the evolution of an ideal society. And we hold that the mass media must become increasingly responsive to this process.

We live in an atmosphere saturated with messages transmitted by the media. The dominating influence on us all is infinite. With sometimes frightening ease, they can move us to vote, to buy and to form attitudes and opinions.

In a decade in which change will become routine, the mass media must accept growing responsibility for their role as communications intermediaries in a diverse and pluralistic society. *Increasingly they must provide us with the basic facts upon which rational decisions can be made; and when they elect to express judgments of their own, these must be overtly labelled so that the reader, the viewer, or the listener can identify opinion, as opposed to fact.*

At all times, the media should be judged on their ability to illuminate and generate an understanding to their audiences. Their failure to light the darkened corners will only accelerate the search of youth for alternative means for satisfying their need and right to communicate.

Congressional Support for Public Broadcasting

10.3a *Resolved:* The Task Force recognizes that the system of public supported (non-commercial) radio and television represents a most useful, effective, and stimulating alternative to commercial broadcasting. Therefore, the Task Force strongly urges the Congress to provide full and systematic support for the Corporation for

Public Broadcasting and other public supported broadcasting agencies. It will be most desirable to develop a method for long-range financing of the system of public broadcasting.

Local Cable Television

10.3b *Resolved:* There should be Federal support of the development of local cable television systems which would be subject to local community control and local community ownership.

Pilot Multi-Media Programs

10.3c *Resolved:* The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and other appropriate agencies support pilot multi-media centers in selected urban communities for the purpose of training community residents in the production of films and television programs reflective of community issues and interests. These productions and other appropriate media would be available to residents through local cable outlets or at the very least through the multi-media centers.

Libraries as Multi-Media Learning Centers

10.3d *Resolved:* A concerted effort be made to build the libraries of the country into dynamic multi-media learning centers, locally oriented and offering a range of services for youth.

These newly defined centers will be alive and vibrant. They will be expected, in the first instance, to heighten the citizen's interest in reading books and periodicals. But, in addition, the centers will become key locations for artistic displays. They will provide study carrels for the application of video and audio cassettes, 8 MM film, and slide projectors to the processes of individual learning.

Further, discussion and film-viewing rooms will be provided at times of maximum use to youth. Appropriate seminars, responsive to the interest of young men and women, will be scheduled. Tutors will be employed and assigned to the centers at critical times for studying.

We recommend to H.E.W. and to appropriate private institutions and organizations that coordinated support, both financial and philosophical, be provided for this program of change.

Responsibility of Media

10.3e *Resolved: There is a deep-seated concern among youth about the credibility of the media. A restoration of their faith is a most worthy objective for all of the forms of communication.*

We charge broadcasters, journalists, publishers, and film producers to accept fully a responsibility that is commensurate with their power in the nation. This responsibility is to conduct an unrelenting search for quality and excellence in all of their output. The effectiveness of their products is to be measured by the degree to which they communicate a true understanding of the total human experience.

Youth Councils to Monitor Media

10.3f *Resolved:* We are concerned about the incredible strength of the media in all phases of our lives. We recognize the potential for danger that lies in this widespread penetration.

We recommend, therefore, that each State Council on Youth deriving from the White House Conference establish local councils to monitor the media for fairness, fullness, integrity and competence. These councils will be set up including youth from various ethnic and social backgrounds. They will share the tasks of observing the practice and performance of local newspapers, periodicals, and broadcasters. In addition, they will join with the State Council in assessing the continuing performance of the national media.

Community Involvement

10.3g *Resolved:* There is real concern that television programs create and perpetuate a passive society. Therefore, we applaud and encourage the efforts of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to strengthen the development of programming that stresses local community involvement.

We believe that the viewer who has actively participated in this public broadcasting service, and who has been able to take advantage of new communications opportunities in community-oriented cable systems and community program centers, will be far better able to evaluate and then influence commercial television programming.

Media Dissemination

10.3h *Resolved:* The publishing and recording industries be commended for their success in the dissemination of a wide variety of excellent and low cost books and musical recordings. We wish also to commend National Educational Television for its creative innovations in programming. We hope this beginning will serve only as a beginning.

Audio-Visual Communication Courses

10.3i We recommend development of courses in audio-visual communication at the high school and undergraduate level to educate young people in effective, creative and responsible use of the media.

Alternative Life Styles and Cultural Pluralism

10.4 Genuine democracy is the power to choose an individual life style—a goal for which the whole life of the person is involved in all that is necessary to achieve this goal.

An individual has the right to continue his personal growth-building toward the goal of his life style, as long as this goal allows all people's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We feel that these rights as listed in the Declaration of Independence should be treated in order, with life having the highest priority. Where law has ceased to express a balanced set of values, a personal moral code is necessary.

Endorsement of People's Peace Treaty

10.4a *Resolved:* The Task Force feels that in order to fulfill the right of life, the total Conference should endorse the People's Peace Treaty.

Guarantee Rights to Alternative Life-Styles

10.4b *Resolved:* The American Civil Liberties Union be commissioned to make a review of all laws in order to guarantee alternative life styles.

Review Foreign Policy

10.4c *Resolved:* The State Department make a review of foreign policy so that it reflects our domestic policies in order that other nations be allowed their own growth of cultures, life styles and economic independence.

Cross Cultural Studies

10.4d *Resolved:* The Office of Education and state school boards set up programs for all high school students, before graduation, to study and/or live in another ethnic or sub-culture so that they may better understand and accept different life styles.

Preparation of Law Enforcement Officers

10.4e *Resolved:* The Department of Justice through the Attorney General's Office assure that law enforcement officers be better paid and be required to live in the neighborhood of the people they serve in order that they be better prepared to perceive the problems of those people.

Religion

10.5 In developing its recommendations this Discussion Group identified the following points which outline a general approach to religion and provide a framework for our specific recommendations:

1. The Values, Ethics and Culture Task Force feels that this country's young people firmly support and desire diversity and freedom of religions in the United States of America and respect for all the religions and cultures of the world's peoples. Youth feels that every person has the right to worship and believe in any transcendent being, beings or force(s) in any manner not detrimental to others, without fear of suffering in any way whatsoever, be it social, economic, or physical. We believe that a concensus of the most fundamental ethical values is indispensable to a viable society. Without this, society becomes fragmented and chaotic, and herein lies a clear and present danger.

2. We believe that religion—which we define as the patterns of thought and the way of life stemming from faith and belief in a transcendent being(s) or force(s)—tends to nurture, enrich and strengthen ethical values, and therefore is urgently necessary to social progress and national welfare.

3. We believe a concensus does exist on the ideal level in this country's society on the deepest fundamentals taught by the great religious traditions known in this country's life: commitment to human brotherhood, the integrity and dignity of the individual, the fundamental worth and equality of all men, compassion for and a sharing with those in need, and freedom for the individual to work out his self-realization so long as he does not harm others. These values urgently need reawakening, clarification, and strengthening. They must not be lost or undermined in the further development of our crowded and technological society. We call upon religious leaders, decision makers, and every individual to make this ideal concensus a living reality.

4. We believe that youth seeks the following values in religion but too often finds them lacking in our religious institutions and teachings:
   a. Leadership and guidance in coping with the problems youth faces, such as the draft, drugs, destruction of the environment, racism and a sense of identity.

   b. Relevance of religious teachings to the problems of present day society.

   c. Realism in religious teachings so as to provide teachings free of meaningless dogma and credible for the individual in the modern world.

   d. An influence that brings men together instead of separating them; fosters unity and brotherhood instead of division and prejudice.

   e. Action that really offers solutions to our national problems and a clear sense of national priorities, instead of adherence to outworn parochialism.

5. *We believe that failures and negative influences traceable to religion stem not from the religious values themselves, but from failures to put these teachings into practice, and the hypocrisy that would use them to justify self-interest and prejudice.*

6. We believe that too much institutional self-interest is a danger to religion; that religion, in order to retain its integrity, must be thought of not just as an institution but as a spiritual force offering the individual a lasting value structure that will meet his personal needs. These needs include a sense of identity, a sense of worth, a sense of direction, a way of relating to others, and a standard of conduct. Religion must also prove itself as an influence helping to steer our society away from immoral acts and policies, or lack of policies. We commend and support those people within religious institutions who are working for the betterment of all society, and regret that many of these dedicated people are the objects of both church and political repression.

Renew Spiritual Health for the Nation

10.5a We are convinced that social programs will be more effective when people are spiritually alive and awake, because spiritual awakeness encourages love for one's neighbor and caring for the disadvantaged. We call upon the religious institutions to foster more vigorously the spiritual health of the people, and to encourage their members to commit themselves and their resources more fully to meeting the total needs of the people.

Resolved: The President, members of Congress, the leaders of religious organizations, decision-makers at all levels of government, business and education, as well as individual citizens are called on to vigorously pursue compassionate, practical, living religion in American life. This should include a keener respect for individual conscience, a strengthening of the worship of God and of other forms of religious experience, and stronger adherence to the original ideals set forth for this nation. It should augment the sense of brotherhood, compassion, equality, and dignity that will harmonize human relationships and restore the quality of American life.

Responsibilities of Religious Institutions

10.5b *The Task Force indicts organized religion because it has too often lacked the courage to take the leadership in effecting societal change. By its silence, it has condoned and is continuing to condone such evils as racism, war, poverty, sexism, and discrimination. Such hypocrisy cannot be supported by the youth of America.*

Therefore, we, while acknowledging the commitments of individuals and single religious institutions to improve the quality of human life, believe this effort is minimal in view of the vast resources, financial and personnel, of the religious institutions.

Resolved: (1) The American religious institutions seriously rearrange their priorities; (2) money not be spent on property and buildings or be kept stagnant; that is, invested to provide a continual source of security for churches; (3) money be freed up and spent in programs which benefit the poor of the United States of America and especially minority groups; (4) money which is invested should be invested responsibly in companies whose ideas are in accord with religious principles such as the elimination of poverty, war, racism, pollution, etc.; and (5) buildings, facilities, and personnel of religious institutions be made available to community groups and the total community for such programs as clothing distribution, breakfast programs, recreation, education, political action groups, drug programs, etc.

Endorse Immediate Withdrawal from Southeast Asia

10.5c The hypocrisy of organized religion to profess love, brotherhood, and the celebration of life, yet by their too frequent silence having condoned the atrocities, incidents of racial prejudice, and slaughter of Southeast Asian peoples has not gone unnoticed by the youth of the United States of America.

Resolved: In order to correct this overwhelming paradox, *the Task Force calls upon all organized religions to officially demand immediate and total withdrawal of all American troops from Southeast Asia.*

Representation on Governing Boards

10.5d *Resolved:* In the belief that religious institutions and the people are synonymous, the Task Force strongly urges that the governing boards of religious institutions be comprised of all segments of the membership. In particular, youth must have equal voice in all decisions.

Courses in Religious and Cultural Diversity

10.5e Ignorance and misunderstanding of different religions and cultures has often led to persecution and suffering in our society.

Resolved: In order to create better understanding among all members of our society, the Values, Ethics, and Culture Task Force recommends that optional courses in Diversity of Religion and Culture be offered at all high schools, and that programs of education in Diversity of Religion and Culture be made available for the media to reach large segments of the population.

Sectarian Restrictions

10.5f Religious institutions must avoid imposing their sectarian restrictions or beliefs in a compulsory way on those of other persuasions.

Resolved: The Task Force recommends that the religious institutions re-evaluate their stands on civil legislation in order to avoid imposition of sectarian beliefs on people of other persuasions.

Technology

10.6 Technology, defined, is the practical use of scientific knowledge. In the discussion of technology, we must also realize its ultimate goal, that of giving man increased control over his environment in order to improve the quality of his existence.

The quality of technology is affected by man. Technology itself has no inherent ethical values; all values perceived to be a part of technology are in actuality culturally determined. In man's hands the uses of technology can be twisted in indiscriminate ways for cultural or personal benefit, for good or evil, often with no regard for the rights of others.

Man's role in the process of technology lies in his ability to integrate the human factor within the materialization of an end product. The consequences of a new product must be considered before marketing is permitted. There must be checks and balances within research and development procedures, for we cannot always legislate technology into a prescribed channel.

We must also be aware of social implications of technological applications. Can our society develop the capability to change as fast as technology changes? Or can society direct and accept technolgical change because of society's desire for a better life?

With these factors in mind, we draft these resolutions.

Meaningful Work

10.6a *Resolved:* Management and labor make efforts to give man meaningful work so that he is not a mindless cog, but an individual who uses his innate and acquired abilities.

Implementation: (1) Rotation of workers on assembly lines; (2) Management and labor uses of research in this area; (3) Government efforts directed toward an amendment of the Occupational Safety and Health Act to include factors that may endanger the mental health of the worker; (4) Consideration and possible use by business of the four-day work week in order to provide the flexibility necessary to facilitate the realization of cultural and other aspirations; and (5) Sponsorship by management and labor of cultural activities for workers and their families.

Ethical Responsibility of Producers of Technology

10.6b *Resolved: Those who make the products of technology available to the peoples of the world have an ethical responsibility for the conditions they impose and the consequences their developments produce.*

Implementation: (1) Technical improvements must not be permitted to destroy, degrade, or corrupt the various cultures of the world. Rather, these improvements should be compatible with these cultures. (2) This also includes extensive testing programs to determine any adverse effect on the consumer or damage to his psychological well-being.

Technological Improvements

10.6c *Resolved:* We recognize the contributions that technology has *made and the contributions that it can make in the future, if properly used. Therefore, we recommend an increase in support for technological housing construction, and rapid-transit systems.*

Educational Efforts of Media

10.6d *Resolved:* If a re-establishment of priorities is to come about with regard to technology, it can be realized only through education and restructured efforts of mass media. We advise that an educational approach to news events and social problems be pursued rather than the traditional factual or speculative reporting.

The publication of a report of this Conference and follow-up committees are the implementation we ask.

Conservation of Resources

10.6e *Resolved: Technolgy be held accountable to make all efforts to conserve and/or replace resources that are being exploited.* This is an area that can be legislated by city ordinances and state laws, as well as by the Federal government. Along with technology's efforts, we recognize that a value change must come in society to use recycling processes effectively.

Sex Roles and Relationships

10.7 *Relationships:* Human beings are sexual persons. Ideal sexual relationships are sensitive, concerned and responsible expressions of human feeling. Every person has the right to fully express his or her individual sexuality. Furthermore, any sexual behavior, when occurring between consenting, responsible individuals, must be recognized and tolerated by society as an acceptable life-style.

Such ideal relationships do not often exist because of three major factors: sex role channeling, social oppressions, and subsequent legal restrictions.

Sex Role Channeling: Children, from the moment of birth are directed into sex role patterns that restrict their emotional expression, their recreational and artistic pursuits, and career choices. Parents, schools, and other special institutions must be made aware of the restrictive sex role stereotypes they impose, often unwittingly. Traditional concepts of femininity and masculinity are not adequate if men and women are to become fulfilled human beings, capable of a great variety of roles.

In a humanizing society that seeks to promote the individual fulfillment of every person as a unique being, efforts must be made to open the options for individuals to make their own decisions about life styles without becoming objects of ridicule, guilt, or legal structures.

Social Oppression: Any person in our society who, as a matter of personal choice, engages in any form of sexual behavior or activity which is outside the institution of heterosexual marriage is subjected to pressure, gossip, suspicion, and social ostracism. Even those whose sexual behavior within marriage differs from "acceptable" or "proper" standards are subject to criticism. Men and women who try to find work in areas traditionally reserved for the opposite sex are ridiculed and opposed.

Thus, at some point in the life of nearly every citizen of this country he or she becomes the object of a form of subtle, yet vicious, psychological repression. Examples of this are widespread: women who are seen as inferior in our society, anyone who has engaged in a homosexual or lesbian relationship, who has become pregnant outside of wedlock, who has cohabited with a person of the opposite sex to whom he or she is not legally married, who has sought an abortion, who has engaged in prostitution or engaged the services of a prostitute, or who has in any other ways challenged sexual stereotypes or participated in sexual activities which are "unacceptable" to others. In each of these situations the reaction of many members of our society is to stereotype and ostracize these individuals by imposing severe judgmental standards.

The effect of such sexual repression through social customs, norms, and prejudices is extremely harmful to supposed "offenders". Guilt feelings, illness, suicide, psychological withdrawal, occupational discrimination and an entire spectrum of other problems are traceable to this sort of repression. There is good reason to assert that the major problems facing the so-called sexual "deviant" are not connected with his own behavior at all. Rather, they more likely stem from the effects of social repression brought to bear by persons adhering to "conforming" standards of "normal" behavior. Such activity denies many people their rights to freedom of decision and action. We recognize that many people are forced by economic and social pressure to assume sexual roles in which they are exploited. Any sexual role which has not been freely chosen is wrong, whether we speak of the prostitute, the truckdriver, or the housewife.

Legal Restriction: Social repression and sex role channeling are manifested in our legal statutes. Laws, as those forbidding fornication, adultery, homosexuality, lesbianism, and so-called "unnatural acts", restrict the right of individual expression. Laws restricting or prohibiting abortion or distribution of contraceptives inhibit individual expression and attempt to legislate sexual morality. *Sexual morality cannot and must not be legislated.*

We can facilitate ideal sexual relationships by repealing sexually restrictive laws and changing attitudes through comprehensive education, which seeks out and annihilates all ignorance leading to *the misinterpretation of sexuality.* Many people in this society grow up with little or no understanding of sex—either in terms of the facts concerning human anatomy and reproduction or the psychological and sociological aspects of human sexuality. Most sex education still remains ineffective, unrecognized, and for the most part non-existent. Education in this area should include not only human anatomy, but should enable the participants to understand what it means to be a sexual being and to understand the process for making decisions about sex which are consistent with one's own values. Specific information about such related matters as venereal disease, homosexuality and lesbianism, abortion, and birth control should also be included.

Sex Roles in Advertising

10.7a *Resolved:* We condemn the deliberate use of female and male models as sex objects in advertising playthings to be exploited in the pretense of selling products to a society.

Sex Roles in Children's Books

10.7b *Resolved:* Editors, textbook writers, and children's authors must present in their characters a far wider range of models for mothers, fathers, career patterns, and family life styles in children's books. Roles of women other than mother-homemaker particularly need expansion.

Alternative Family Styles

10.7c *Resolved:* The nuclear family of mother, father and children, while the predominate pattern in United States society, is not the only option available. Alternatives must be recognized and sanctioned as legitimate and fulfilling choices. Examples include childless marriages, single-state, communal families.

Rights of Homosexuals

10.7d *Resolved:* The homosexual is the object of ridicule and oppression. As with other minority groups, the homosexual or lesbian has a right to all privileges of citizenship, which should in no way be circumscribed solely as a result of his or her preference for a sex partner.

Standards for Sexual Responsibilities

10.7e *We recognize these three understandings as practical, realistic standards for sexual responsibility in our society:* (1) Sex is natural and normal in every person's life. There is nothing shameful or degrading about it. (2) Sexual relationships involve concern and responsibility for others. They should not be used in a way that exploits or harms anyone else. (3) The responsibility for knowing about and practicing contraception should be a mutual decision, shared equally by both men and women.

Resolved: We call upon representatives of all institutions (families, religious bodies, schools, businesses and government) to make them a part of their own understanding and to work at sharing them with their members, clients or constituencies.

Institutional Response to Changing Sexual Behavior

10.7f *Resolved:* All institutions of our society (religious bodies, schools, businesses and government) must review their attitudes and religious practices toward what constitutes "normal" behavior. Institutions especially have been and continue to be the source of negative and narrow-minded attitudes. By tagging certain people as "sinners" they contribute to individual difficulties, making individuals the object of considerable gossip and ostracism. High schools still turn away students who become pregnant before graduation. Businesses and government fire the homosexual who is "found out." Such practices must be ended.

Equal Rights

10.7g *Resolved:* We must encourage and support those who have been the object of social sexual oppression (e.g. homosexuals, divorced persons and women) and demand for them equal rights and treatment in our society. We support their legitimate needs to organize and to work for freedom to choose behavior.

Repeal of Sexually Restrictive Legislation

10.7h *Resolved: We demand sweeping repeal of legislation which restricts and represses individual freedoms. Laws, as those forbidding fornication, adultery, homosexuality, lesbianism and so-called "unnatural acts" restrict such freedom.* Furthermore, laws restricting or prohibiting abortion or distribution of contraceptives affect this right. Contraception and education must be available to every person and abortion is an individual right and choice, a matter to be solely decided by the woman and her physician. We demand that the state take the responsibility to provide and make easily accessible such services to any individual where services are not readily available. This does not imply that the state be vested with the power to force in any way such services on any individual or group of individuals, as has been the practice of some state welfare and family planning agencies. We demand that all other sexual legislation be repealed. Existing laws pertaining to aggression and exploitation are sufficient to protect individuals from sexual behavior such as assault and kidnapping which leads to physical or psychological harm, as in child molestation.

Prohibit Sex Discrimination

10.7i *Resolved:* Acts of discrimination related to sex and sexual behavior, i.e., job discrimination (governments and businesses which refuse to hire homosexuals); tax exemptions (unmarried couples cannot file joint income tax returns); marital contracts (homosexuals and lesbians are not allowed the right to marriage); and housing (denial to unmarried couples, communal living groups, homosexuals and lesbians) must be prohibited by law.

Federal Funds for Sex Education

10.7j *Resolved:* We demand that the Federal government make funds available through the National Institute of Mental Health to set up national guidelines on uniformity, in regard to curriculum and teachers, so that each state, community or school district can establish programs of education for human sexuality. Such programs will undertake the education of parents, teachers, professionals, and the community at large, as well as youth. The context of these programs should include not only human anatomy, but should enable the participants to understand what it means to be a sexual being and the process for making decisions about sex which are consistent with one's own values. Specific information about sex-related matters as venereal disease, homosexuality, abortion and birth control should also be included. We demand that the Office of Education cooperate in this effort.

Through programs of sex education, the misconceptions of sex and sexuality will be eliminated and the sexual behavior of each individual will be governed by personal values rather than ignorance.

Record of Vote on Resolutions: Because of the controversy of the above recommendations, the Task Force decided to record the vote: 40 in favor; 27 opposed; 6 abstentions.

Minority Resolution

10.7k The following minority resolution was submitted for the record:

We members of the Task Force on Values, Ethics and Culture assert that the development of the individual is derived largely from the family which is the primary unit of society. The individual and the family draw their strength from the mutual love of parent(s)* and child (or children). The recognition of the family as the primary unit of society is vitally important to healthy social living. Legal approbation of sexual relationships contrary to the present legal and moral position of the family are harmful to the welfare of the family and society.

We also believe that our country should view with compassion and concern the individuals involved in sex relationships considered legally abnormal.

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* The word "parent(s)" means any person or persons considered as parent(s) or *in loco parentis* according to law.

Caucus Statements

About the Caucus Statements

The delegate committee to plan the final plenary session made no requirement as to membership number required for forming a caucus or to qualify for including a statement in the proceedings. Some of the caucuses were large; others were made up of one or two individuals. Some prepared statements for inclusion in the final report; others read a statement at the closing session.

Like the Task Forces, caucuses were given the option of bringing recommendations to the final plenary session for a vote. The results of voting on caucus recommendations at the final session are presented on page 285.

Asian-Pacific Caucus

11.1 Because of the Education Act approved in 1970 by the Congress and administered by the Office of Education under HEW, Asians were excluded as a disadvantaged group. Many Asian students will continue to suffer from the inequities of our society, primarily within the Asian ghettos in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles and in rural areas.

Therefore be it resolved, this White House Conference on Youth communicate directly with the President of the United States about this blatant discriminatory practice.

Be it further resolved the Education Act approved in 1970 be amended to include persons of Asian ancestry.

Be it further resolved that those persons of Asian descent qualifying under poverty standards receive the appropriate services of the government.

Emergency Detention Law Should be Repealed

11.1a During World War II, thousands of American citizens of Japanese ancestry were forcibly evacuated from their homes, and relocated in isolated detention camps as prisoners in various parts of the country. These people were incarcerated, not because of any crime committed, but because their ancestry caused suspicion of being a danger to the security of our nation. These fears proved foundless as not one case of espionage or sabotage was committed by any persons of Japanese ancestry in America according to FBI files. The incarceration resulted in high loss of property and cost of the self-respect of a people.

The legal precedence of the incarceration led to the adoption of the Internal Security Act of 1950. The act gives the President of the United States the power to declare a state of national emergency at his own discretion without consulting Congress. At this time all constitutional rights for all citizens are suspended, including the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly.

This resolution is aimed directly at Title II, the emergency detention provision of the Internal Security Act. This section of the act empowers the President to incarcerate any persons he deems dangerous to national security, and to imprison the individuals for any length of time while depriving the individuals of their constitutional rights to indictment, trial, and appeal.

We, the Asian-Pacific Caucus, feel that the emergency detention authority gives too much power to a single individual while failing to provide proper checks and balances for its enforcement. Further, we feel that the law is unconstitutional and is an arbitrary tool of oppression.

Therefore: The Asian-Pacific Caucus, along with the unanimous support of the Black, Chicano, and Indian caucuses and the Race Relations Task Force, demand the immediate repeal of Title II, the emergency detention provision of the Internal Security Act of 1950. We further demand that Congress shall not enact legislation with the intent of oppressing an individual due to his race, color, or political ideology. (Submitted by Asian-Pacific Caucus.)

Minority Report

11.1b We, the members of the Asian-Pacific Caucus, recommend that:

The United States Government *and* the citizens of the continental United States recognize the right of Pacific and Asian peoples (*including* Asian Americans, Hawaiians, Guamanians, Micronesians, and Samoans), to self-determination and preservation of cultures. We further recommend that all means of self-determination and preservation of cultures be afforded to Pacific and Asian peoples even to the preservation of land and natural resources that are held sacred by the different cultures and peoples of the Pacific.

Black Caucus

11.2 We, the Black Caucus of the 1971 White House Conference on Youth, strongly back our black Congressmen. We will make plans to organize a National Black Conference to deal with the needs and concerns of black people. We feel that we were not invited here to express our views, be heard, or have our views considered, but only to lend credibility to this conference. Therefore, we say to the *administration* of the White House Conference on Youth, especially to the President of the United States, business is business and bullshit is bullshit.

Indian Council

11.3 We, the Native American Indian Youth delegates to the White House Conference on Youth, concerned to insure a better tomorrow for our people, as well as to correct the tragedies visited upon us in the past—a past which has resulted in the Native American being the poorest, most under-educated, ill-housed, short-lived, and neglected of all Americans—do hereby make the following recommendations:

Indian Education

11.3a (a) That adequate Federal funds be made available for the publications of tribal textbooks upon request of tribal governing bodies or Indian communities;

(b) That the image of the American Indian be changed through presentation of his true history to this nation;

(c) That the Federal government establish Indian junior colleges in strategic locations with respect to Indian population;

(d) That remedial reading programs be established in high schools.

(e) *That BIA schools be completely controlled by Indian people and financed by the government;*

(f) That Head Start programs be turned over to the Indian people with classes taught in the native language. The subject content must be directly related to Indian life on respective reservations. Indian history and language courses may be supplemented with instruction by older Indians versed in Indian culture;

(g) That elementary teachers be allowed to teach Indian students only after taking part in a concentrated orientation program, taught by qualified Indian people;

(h) That competent Indian counselors, selected by Indian parents and students, be made available on the elementary through college levels;

(i) That schools on reservations educate students to fill responsible offices and professional positions;

(j) That it be understood that a native Indian person need not have a degree in order to teach Indian courses in Indian controlled schools;

(k) That adequate financial aid to scholarships, fellowships, and grants be appropriated. Funds appropriated by Congress shall be channeled through Indian Tribal Councils;

(l) That tutorial programs, as well as Federal funding for Indians attending schools (elementary through college levels), be established.

(m) That summer programs be established for Indian college students in order to provide exposure to professional fields and the experience involved therein. Such programs shall be federally funded;

(n) That Indian student residents, whose tribes have contributed land for educational institutions, shall not pay that state's tuition, and non-resident Indians shall pay in-state tuition;

(o) That adequate Federal funding and facilities be provided for the educational needs of Indian students who cannot benefit from regular BIA schools or state public schools, such as drop-outs, slow learners, and the physically or mentally handicapped;

(p) That schools be located throughout reservations to allow children to attend school from home, rather than being removed to boarding schools.

Legal Rights

11.3b (a) That each state and Federal probation board have Indian members;

(b) That the Indians have their own federally-funded rehabilitation programs;

(c) That legal education be provided to inform Indians of their legal rights;

(d) That Indians be tried by all-Indian juries;

(e) That the House Concurrent Resolution 95 be passed by Congress;

(f) That all national televised programs concerning Indians be reviewed and edited by the Indians concerned;

(g) That we encourage and support involvement of Indian students in the formulation of school policies;

(h) That we endorse tribal jurisdiction over Indian land, water, and treaty rights;

(i) That Indian parents have the right to determine where their children attend school;

(j) That funds be provided for Indians to retain legal counsel of their choice for the protection of their individual rights;

(k) That a Cabinet level Agency be created to have exclusive responsibility over all relations between the Federal government and the American Indians and Alaskan Natives, to be headed by a person called the Secretary of Indian Affairs;

(l) That we support an Indian Trust Counsel Authority;

(m) That we endorse the establishment of the National Indian Chairman's Associations.

Poverty

11.3c That the root causes of Indian poverty must be attacked at all levels, therefore:

(1) We request the acceleration of Indian resource development by funding.
(2) We support Indian development of the resources of their reservations.
(3) We support adequate funding for up-grading and re-training of reservation manpower through vocational schools.
(4) We support Federal programs that would provide adequate housing and encourage home ownership among American Indians.
(5) We request adequate funding for community facilities for the entire Indian community (i.e.; hospitals, schools, offices, recreation centers, public libraries and educational television).
(6) We endorse the National Welfare Rights Organization's Bill of a guaranteed annual income.
(7) We support tribally-owned, tribally-based industry.

The Draft

11.3d That Indians be exempt from the draft and other forms of mandatory national service.

Drugs

11.3e That drug education be included in the curriculum of all schools attended by Indian students.

Ethics, Values and Cultures

11.3f (a) That the public media explicitly recognize the Indian contribution to the American cultural heritage;

(b) That we demand a halt to any attempts by any form of public media to demean Indian cultures and to perpetuate harmful sterotypes of the American Indian;

(c) That we support the democracy that allows all people to pursue their own goals and their own visions of life;

(d) That we remind the American people that the American nation is a state of mind. Only the land endures, you can have the country—the land is ours.

La Raza Caucus

11.4 (The La Raza Caucus statement appeared previously as the statement of the Spanish-speaking Caucus of the Task Force on Race and Minority Group Relations; See Section 9.7)

Ad Hoc WHCY Implementation Committee

11.5 *Background:* This Conference has succeeded in bringing together a vast number of youth who represent a diverse cross-section of attitudes, political ideologies, life-styles, ethnic/racial background, and ages. This has been accomplished at one time in one place. It would indeed be tragic if the discussion, dialogue, fears, awareness and consciousness which has emerged during this Conference are lost through our failure to initiate action at the grass roots in an attempt to bring our recommendations into being. This discussion, dialogue, fear, awareness and consciousness must be shared by large numbers of the American populace if we are to succeed. Clearly, then, *we must establish and fund some means by which interested delegates who are committed and dedicated to trying to bring about this change, through the system, by working at the grass roots level may have some chance at success.* Our recommendations will fall on deaf ears and enjoy only lip service in response unless we can bring meaningful pressure to bear upon the policy-makers and decision-makers in our society.

Implementation: As a means of creating the funding and machinery for such grass-roots pressure, it is recommended that a Committee of Correspondence be established to maintain communication among interested delegates and keep them apprised of developments with regard to the impact our Conference report has made and the status of implementation of all recommendations at all levels of government and society.

In addition, regional follow-up Task Force listening posts must be established to facilitate input to the Committees of Correspondence.

Finally, we must implement some means of publishing for all delegates a "State of the 1971 Youth Conference Report" on an annual basis so that all delegates may judge the progress made and gear community action groups accordingly.

We, as youth, are told time and time again how important it is to work at the grass roots level for change. Surely, then, this attempt to establish machinery to that end will be met favorably by those in government and other social institutions who hold the purse strings and favor work "through the system." It is further recommended that this proposal be presented to a plenary session of the Conference for approval. We must not lose this opportunity for effective persuasion and implementation of our Conference report.

Appalachian Youth Caucus

11.6 In September CBS began its new television season with the theme "We're putting it all together." If you watch television on Tuesday nights, you know that what came together, back-to-back, were the stars of three of America's most popular T.V. programs: "The Beverly Hillbillies," "Green Acres," and "Hee-Haw." Each week millions of Americans gather around their sets to watch this combination, which has to be the most intensive effort ever exerted by a nation to belittle, demean, and otherwise destroy a minority people within its boundaries. Within the three shows on one night, hillbillies are shown being conned into buying the White House, coddling a talking pig, and rising from a corn patch to crack the sickest jokes on T.V. If similar programs even approaching the maliciousness of these were broadcast today on Blacks, Indians, or Chicanos, there would be an immediate public outcry from every liberal organization and politician in the country. The now culture people would organize marches and prime-time boycotts. America is allowed to continue laughing at this minority group.

Not only is the nation apathetic toward Appalachians, but President Nixon has shown the degree of concern he has when he announced that he would have visited the Hyden disaster *if* it had not been for "the bad weather."

The nation and the President continue through their programs to tell Appalachians that for them to live, their culture must die. For Appalachians to live, not only must the Appalachian culture die but part of America must die. The American dream will be tainted with one more *IF.*

In this decade, only one positive force has been exerted for Appalachia. That force, the Appalachian Regional Commission, was severely restricted from its beginning. The ARC was given one-twentieth of the amount of money it takes to fight the Vietnam War for one year and told to use that amount over a six year period to correct almost 200 years of abuse to an area of 13 states. This area has been described "as an island of poverty in a sea of affluence."

President Nixon has decided that this island of neglected and exploited Appalachia should continue to exist as an example to the world of America's concern for the poor by announcing that he will not ask for the extension of the ARC.

We ask that this conference join us in rejecting the President's actions toward Appalachia, and that the Conference support us in demanding the following actions by the President and Congress:

(a) Continuance of the ARC with a minimum of a doubled budget.
(b) The removal of the administration of safety regulations in the mines from political control groups.
(c) An end to strip-mining on land which cannot be restored completely to a usable state.
(d) Guaranteeing constructive and non-demeaning jobs to all Appalachians, including the more than three million who have been forced into an economic refuge in northern industrial cities.
(e) Agreeing with the Appalachians that the historical and ever present assumption that academic education is superior to practical or vocational education is a *farce.* Also vocational education should be an integral part of elementary, secondary and even higher education instead of a secondary role in Appalachia.
(f) Require that all schools and colleges in Appalachia teach Appalachian studies and recognize the cultural uniqueness of the Appalachian people. Also, that the Federal government fund Appalachian studies as it funds other minority group studies.
(g) Urge prosecution of the United Mine Workers for their failure to fairly represent coal miners in matters of health and safety.
(h) Urge that the Federal government and the Federal court system sanction legal recourse without regard to fault toward mine owners when their mines are not in accordance with the mine safety regulations and an accident results.
(i) That the Congress should require that ½ of all college work-study monies be spent for service-learning within Appalachia.
(j) Finally, allow the Appalachian people the right of self-determination in deciding their future.

Catholic Coordinating Committee

11.7 The White House Conference on Youth has been assembled to enable a select group of persons, youths and adults, to exchange views, express convictions, debate issues and make recommendations for the guidance of our nation during the next decade. Basic to the achievement to these goals are certain intangible but very real qualities to which all must be committed:

(a) Respect for the person, the opinions and the convictions of everyone present, especially of those sharing common assignments.

(b) Commitment to truth, which brings an openness to new insights and an honesty in dialogue.

(c) Desire for justice, a justice which permeates society, governs our systems and directs the relationship of group to group and individual to individual.

(d) Spirit of love, both in attitudes and action, which engenders a warmth, a generosity and a compassion between all persons and groups.

All of these are spiritual qualities and reinforce the fact that man is a spiritual being, endowed by God with marvelous faculties to achieve personal fulfillment and a spiritual destiny. Man's spiritual nature and his ultimate destiny must be the background for all considerations pertaining to his welfare, as well as the underlying directive force for all his actions. Recognition of, and respect for, this spiritual dimension of the human person must permeate all social relations, and indeed the very fabric of society itself.

Against this background, we emphasize the following propositions, limited in number, pertaining to some of the deliberations of the White House Conference on Youth:

Basic Income Floor

11.7a For any proper functioning, as an individual or as a member of a society, a person must have the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, health care and education. Therefore, every person must be assured of a basic income floor below which no one's income should fall. This should be sufficient to supply these basic necessities. It should be supplied through employment or social insurances, but where these are unavailable, through an income maintenance program of public assistance which is financed and administered by the Federal government, and administered in a manner which respects the human dignity of the recipient.

Family Life

11.7b The development of the individual is derived from the family which is the primary unit of society. The individual and the family draw their strength from the mutual love of parent(s) and child (or children). The recognition of the family as the primary unit of society is vitally important to health social living. *Legal approbation of sexual relationships contrary to the present legal and moral position of the family are harmful to the welfare of the family and society.* Alternative life styles (e.g. tribal life, kibbutz and certain forms of communal life) are possible within the framework of present law. Where legislative changes are needed to provide additional life styles that do not threaten the family unit they can be provided.

We also believe that our country should view with compassion and concern the individuals involved in sex relationships *considered legally abnormal.* Legislative review and amelioration, where needed, of laws governing so-called "victimless crime" (e.g. alcoholism, drug addiction, homosexuality, etc.) should be provided.

Quality of Life

11.7c The quality of life in our country must enhance every individual's potential for personal fulfillment, social contribution and achievement of spiritual destiny. This means an achievement of peace, elimination of social conflict and a commitment to excellence. Therefore, we join the many voices calling for an end of war in Indochina and the Middle East. We urge that all institutions and groups, both governmental and non-governmental, respond to the aspirations of minority groups and assure them full and equal participation in the life of our country. We urge a renewed emphasis on and support of the cultural elements of society, such as arts.

Old Age Assistance

11.7d We make a special plea for the aged, that they might experience the same quality of life. Many of our senior citizens are poor, most are lonely, and all have special problems of living. They should be guaranteed an adequate income, the attention of neighbors and other friendly visitors, and the assurance of a life of peace and security in their advanced years.

We urge that social security benefits and old age assistance payments be increased to provide the assurance of economic security. We urge that the Administration on Aging of the Federal government receive increased, not decreased, funding and that this Administration assume aggressive leadership in assuring a high quality of life for the elderly.

Abortion

11.7e Quality of life presumes a respect for the right to life. The right to life is guaranteed by our Constitution, respected by society, and considered by all as a most precious possession. This, if meaningful at all, must apply not only to the strong and affluent, but also to the weak, the poor and the handicapped. It must be defended and protected for all, but especially for those who are least able to defend and protect themselves. This defense must be embodied in the attitudes and actions of everyone in our society. But above all, it must receive the protection of our laws.

Among the weakest and most in need of protection is the unborn child. This child has the right to be born, which right must be respected and protected. Its existence cannot be left to the private determination or whim of other individuals. It cannot protect itself, but deserves the defense and protection of a society which cares for its weakest members. This protection must find expression in laws which prohibit abortion.

Moreover, the ill-effects of illegal abortion must be overcome, not by legalizing abortion, but by education programs, service and action programs, and by enforcement of those laws which prohibit the killing of the unborn child.

Aid to Non-Public Schools

11.7f One of the paramount challenges of our time is to recreate in our important institutions an environment congenial to the genuine pluralism that is indispensible to quality human development. Specifically, this nation needs a legal and educational system which will foster the truly human development of the person through cultural, ethnic, religious and intellectual diversity. We do not reject the collectivization of many human activities, but we doubt its application to the education of the mind and spirit.

A fundamental question is: can the law provide for educational diversity in our country or are we doomed to the establishment of an educational monolith? If pluralism dies in education, its ultimate survival in the cultural and intellectual areas of American life is threatened. Pluralism on the cultural and deeper personal-value levels is a fundamental good; from diversity on these levels come strength, creative option, and—more important—the strongest practical foundation for personal freedom.

But apart from this general societal problem, we *wish to express our concern for making plurality of educational choice available to all citizens regardless of race, economic class or creed.* For the poor, America has provided no such choice. They can neither reside in the attendance area of their preferred school nor employ a non-public school to replace it. They have, in short, no option other than to attend the compulsory public school in the neighborhood they are forced by circumstances to inhabit. If the school is in a poor neighborhood, there is no access to the social culture that sets the central themes of modern life; if the neighborhood is black, there is little opportunity for social or racial integration.

In recent years a serious search at least has begun for solutions to the basic question of how can society provide freedom of choice for all classes, but particularly the poor. Many different proposals have been proffered: tax credits, tuition grants, purchase of services, auxiliary services, vouchers and categorical aid. We maintain that every existing and proposed form of state or Federal aid to education should be evaluated. In seeking such aid neither the non-public nor the public sectors should be viewed as competing for scarce educational dollars but as cooperating to attract increased community support for education and to make the most efficient use of available funds. On the practical level *this means that legislation extending any degree of public support to educational services offered in non-public schools must include the provision for adequate funding sources which do not diminish or divert funds already committed to and needed by the public sector.* Citizens, educators, and legislators should be fully informed of the importance of the non-public sector in maintaining and improving community educational services at a unit cost lower than that required in public institutions. At present non-public schools save the taxpayers billions of dollars each year in the states. Models of financial aid should permit families, including the poor, to choose among educations of varying styles. Such assistance would necessarily demand assurance of fairness in the application of funds, safeguards against discrimination, and accounting systems to restrict tax monies to secular purposes in accord with the *Schempp* and *Allen* criteria.

The achievement of church-related schools in educating Americans through a quality of professional service that has enriched American education was acknowledged by Justice White in the *Board of Education v. Allen* (392 U.S. 236):

> Private education has played and is playing a significant and valuable role in raising national levels of knowledge, competence and experience. Americans care about the quality of

> the secular education available to their children. They have considered high quality education to be an indispensible ingredient for achieving the kind of nation and the kind of citizenry that they have desired to create. Considering this attitude, the continued willingness to rely on non-public school systems, including parochial systems, strongly suggests that a wide segment of informed opinion, legislative and otherwise, has found that those schools do an acceptable job of providing secular education to their students. This judgment is further evidence that parochial schools are performing, in addition to their sectarian function, the task of secular education.

Properly fashioned financial aid to education according to the above criteria could—for the first time in our history—provide variety, freedom of choice, accountability, integration and equality of opportunity within tax financed education.

We urge the states and the Federal government to undertake serious experimentation with all of these systems of aid. It is time that the rhetoric of freedom, equality and plurality of choice be given substance for all income classes in American society.

Caucus for Implementation of White House Conference on Youth

11.8 Every delegate at the White House Conference on Youth is a participant in the caucus for implementation. This is because no one made this trip to one of the nation's most isolated spots without expectation that there would be implementation of the proposals put forth at the Conference.

Most delegates have expressed some despair at the thought of implementation of many proposals on the Federal level. Without a drastic reordering of the present priorities, implementation is impossible.

Therefore implementation must be largely left to the community level, to action by the nation's voluntary youth-serving organizations. President Nixon early in his administration recognized the strength of the nation's voluntary activities. These organizations operate at the grass roots level, they are not moved by political considerations, they are problem oriented rather than political oriented.

Implementation: The Caucus for Implementation recommends that the implementation of the recommendations of the White House Conference on Youth be made a number one priority by the national youth-serving agencies.

That these voluntary organizations attack the problem of white racism, poverty, reordering of priorities, legal and civil rights within their own organizations and that they act as the conscience of the nation with freedom to criticize agencies of government which fail to implement their own laws, rules and regulations.

These voluntary organizations hope that the gap between government and people can be narrowed—that the government will no longer fear its own people. This can be shown by scheduling conferences at places such as Washington which is the nation's and the peoples' capital.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews obligates itself to a series of regional conferences of voluntary organizations which will work out specific plans for implementation of the White House Conference on Youth at the community and state level. We urge these voluntary organizations and the Governor's Committees on Children and Youth to work together for the implementation of these proposals. We welcome any cooperation of agencies on the Federal and state level.

It is our opinion that the resources of these organizations are vast but largely untapped. We hope that every participant at the conference will take advantage of this offer to implement the recommendations of the White House Conference on Youth. Only through this kind of voluntary effort can our democracy survive.

Caucus on Catholic Charities

11.9 *Resolved:* We, members of the Task Force on Values, Ethics and Culture, assert that the development of the individual is derived largely from the family which is the primary unit of society. The individual and the family draw their strength from the mutual love of parent(s) and child (or children). The recognition of the family as the primary unit of society is vitally important to healthy social living. *Legal approbation of sexual relationships contrary to the present legal and moral position of the family are harmful to the welfare of the family and society.* Alternate life styles (e.g. tribal life, kibbutz, and certain forms of communal life) are possible within the framework of the present law. Where legislative changes are needed to provide additional life styles that do not threaten the family unit they can be provided.

We also believe that our country should view with compassion and concern the individuals involved in sex relationships considered legally abnormal. Legislative review and amelioration, where needed, of laws governing so-called "victimless crime" (e.g. alcoholism, drug addiction, homosexuality, etc.) should be provided.

Civil Liberties Caucus

11.10 The Civil Liberties Caucus, composed of members of the Legal Rights and Justice Task Force, believe it is necessary for this Conference to address itself to current national issues in addition to making many worthwhile recommendations. Although the Conference is proposing making excellent recommendations, it is not expressing to our nation the degree of alienation and frustration of many youth.

We feel this Conference should express its complete abhorrence and repulsion with the unwarranted political surveillance now being carried out by the FBI on American citizens, and that we demand the immediate resignation of J. Edgar Hoover as Director of the FBI.

Although Mr. Hoover has built an effective crime-fighting organization, his arrogance and his intimidation of dissident youth groups has clearly made him a symbol of repression. We feel that over 45 years of service is long enough.

A resolution, as outlined in paragraph 2, was presented to the Legal Rights Task Force. The resolution was the last on the agenda, the vote was held at 1:30 a.m., and only 51 members were present. A large portion of those voting were adult delegates and did not represent the young viewpoint on this vital concern. Because the vote was very close, we feel this issue should be brought before the entire Conference.

11.10a We move that the 1971 White House Conference on Youth declare its complete abhorrence and repulsion with the unwarranted political surveillance now being carried out by the FBI on American citizens, and that we demand the immediate resignation of J. Edgar Hoover as Director of the FBI.

Commitment to Education Caucus

11.11 The United States of America, the nation with the largest gross national product in the world, should offer an educational system which equips her people to live meaningfully in a rapidly changing society. Yet our nation hasn't met this goal because misplaced priorities have diverted both human and financial resources.

Federal, state, and local governments must support the recommendations outlined by the 1971 White House Task Force on Education. The Federal government must reorder national spending priorities so that the Federal contribution to primary, secondary, and higher education will total 25 percent of the national budget (the current Federal contribution to education is 3.67 percent). In addition, state and local governments must also re-examine their spending proprieties and determine ways in which more funds can be channeled into education.

1. *Defense spending must be reduced.* The Federal government currently spends 46.45 percent of the Federal tax dollar on defense. These funds must be redirected so that a large proportion will be spent on education—to establish new, more effective educational systems, including programs to serve individuals from low income backgrounds and those with nonacademic interests.

2. The United States must set a specific date to withdraw all troops from the Indochina conflict. American tax dollars must be redirected from this expenditure to people's problems, including education, housing, the environment, poverty, drug education, etc. The Federal government must not revert American tax dollars from his conflict to military research and development.

3. Special priority for the distribution of these new funds must include funding black colleges, small private institutions, and other institutions which serve a significant number of minority students.

4. With the reallocation of Federal tax dollars we propose that methods should be developed that rely less on personal property taxes as the single means of financing education at the local level.

5. A system of accountability must be developed for duties of states in the use of this increased share of Federal monies for education.

The Conservative Caucus

11.12 In view of what has transpired at the White House Conference on Youth, we, as concerned delegates, deem it necessary to submit this minority report.

We have witnessed the alienation of a large number of delegates due to:

1. The politically biased staff, Task Force members and preliminary Task Force reports;

2. The rampant emotionalism which has dominated the Conference hindering rational discussion of the issues.

3. The selection process which resulted in an inadequate representation of the political cross-section of American youth.

These have produced a Conference which in no way represents the opinion of American youth. The American people must realize that youth does not speak with one voice. We are as diverse in our views as the nation itself. To view youth as monolithic is an insult to members of our generation, for it implies that individual members do not have minds of their own, but merely follow the mouthings of self-appointed "leaders" whose only qualification for leadership is their ability to seize a microphone.

Foreign Policy

11.12a In the area of foreign policy in particular we have witnessed an abundance of emotionalism, a lack of understanding of the true nature of Communism and a failure to accept just national interests in foreign policy. It is not immoral to be concerned with the defense of the American people.

We have witnessed at this Conference a new isolationism—an isolationism even more dangerous than that of the 1930's. This is an outlook which has produced conflicts and inconsistencies while still adhering to general principles.

On the one hand the delegates condemn the imposition of American standards on foreign nations, while at the same time calling for the overthrow of the legal government of South Vietnam and interference in the internal affairs of other nations such as Pakistan and the Sudan.

America cannot shirk its rightful role in the community of nations. The delegates have shown themselves to be shallow in their understanding of the complexities of foreign policy and the realities of American involvement in world affairs.

Student Rights

11.12b We are distressed at the lack of real concern toward campus issues and student rights. There have been no innovations in the areas of free speech on campus, the presentation of diverse viewpoints, the unfair mandatory student fees and alternative paths to financing such as the voucher system and deferred tuition. We call for the exploration of new concepts and outlooks to preserve the individual rights of the student, to ensure his or her ability to obtain a quality education and to provide new methods of promoting the continuance and growth of private schools.

Environment

11.12c Grieved at missing Earth Day back home, the delegates to the Environment Task Force contented themselves with pushing their pet projects in Colorado at the taxpayers' expense. Rather than representing average Americans, these delegates—both youth and adult—were the activist elite of the ecology movement. They expressed a near unanimous feeling that overpopulation is the major cause of environmental problems. They recommended that the government promote extended and extensive birth control practices and the right of the mother to destroy the fetus.

Few delegates viewed the problems of environmental quality in a rational manner. Many of the delegates would have the average American believe that he has little more than ten hours to live. Such emotionalism carried into the question of Appalachian coal-mining. The delegates voted to remove the "blood-stained money of the capitalists"—as one delegate stated it—into the hands of a nationalized coal industry owned by "The people of Appalachia." In so acting, most delegates showed a callous disregard of individual rights (including those of the unborn), ignorance of the American economic system, and a near-totalitarian desire for government enforcement of their particular views.

We believe that realistic solutions to the problems of ecology depend greatly on individual initiatives and a personal commitment to improving our environment. Environmentalists must not disregard the existing economic system, but rather use the free enterprise system to help solve these problems. Laissez faire capitalism and individual commitment are the keys to solving environmental problems.

Economic Policy

11.12d In terms of economic policy, we strongly condemn the Conference recommendation of a guaranteed annual income of sixty-five hundred dollars for a family of four. As with many other proposals, we concur in the observation of the *Denver Post* that "the delegates indicated . . . a lack of understanding of the American economic system."

We deplore the trend towards enslaved dependency on government for more and more millions of Americans. The American nation cannot exist with millions continually living off a government dole. Our policy should move towards the elevation from welfare to active participation in the American economy. To this end, we call for increased job training, hiring policies based on merit and ability, and the availability of more capital for minority groups in particular. We would remind the Conference that we are living in a society which erroneously forces individuals to seek a collegiate education while at the same time confronting a dire shortage of trained and skilled craftsmen.

We must rededicate ourselves towards providing income and occupational opportunities for all Amercians.

Implementation: Throughout the Conference, delegates have attacked the performance of government in solving our nation's ills in one breath while in the next breath calling for more government intervention and expenditure. But the solution is not more government involvement. It is apparent that new answers must be sought.

We therefore oppose the proposals for the Family Assistance Plan and a Federal Health Insurance Program as a return to the mistaken and ineffective policies of the thirties. We ask for new directions, new perspectives, new approaches to our nation's social problems. We call for a reinvigoration of the private and independent sectors and a re-evaluation of the responsibilities of individual citizens, confronting our problems on a person-to-person basis. A truly just society can be achieved only when individual citizens accept the responsibilities of alleviating social ills—rather than passing them on to an impersonal and bureaucratic government.

To this end, we call for a new approach to the complexities of modern society and a rejection of excessive dependence on government—a dependence which worsens our nation's problems and deprives our citizens of essential individual freedom.

Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth

11.13 We ask the President to appoint a National Citizens Committee, representing youth and non-governmental organizations, to direct and monitor the follow-up and implementation of the recommendations of the 1971 White House Conference on Youth.

The District of Columbia Colonial People's Caucus

11.14 There are 850,000 citizens of Washington, D.C., who are without political rights and the power of self government.

We wish to obtain for the District of Columbia the full sovereign rights of statehood as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Implementation: To pressure Congress to make the District of Columbia a state and to yield full political rights to the people of the nation's capital.

Free Enterprise Caucus

11.15 Whereas no economic system has ever been perfect; and

Whereas the least imperfect and most productive system ever devised by men is private competitive enterprise; and

Whereas free enterprise is the economic system where the tools of production are owned by private individuals and used by others who produce and sell their products in competition with each other within the framework of legally enforced ethical business practices:

Now therefore be it resolved, That although there may be abuses and misuses as there are in other areas of man's endeavors, that we reaffirm our belief in a system of free enterprise economics. *Adopted unanimously.*

Friends of the Dollar; Alaska Pipeline

11.16 Whereas there is a definite need to solve the social-economic problems of Alaska by Alaskans without reliance on Federal treasuries; and

Whereas the natural energy requirement in the immediately foreseeable future requires new and substantial domestic oil reserves capable of being marketed; and

Whereas the lack of domestic petroleum reserves will compel continuing and increasingly greater reliance on foreign sources of crude oil, resulting in a weakening in the U.S. position in foreign relations and increasing the danger of involvement in foreign conflicts; and

Whereas substantial evidence has been furnished by the State of Alaska and by the technologists which eliminates any reasonable doubt as to the capability of environmental safety in the transmission of crude oil in the Trans-Alaska Pipeline; and

Whereas there has been a substantial emotional environmental overstatement primarily from those who are uninformed and have no direct concern with the pipeline; and

Whereas Alaskans should be masters of their own social, economic and environmental destiny:

Therefore be it Resolved, That the Secretary of Interior of the United States immediately issue a permit for the construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline between Prudhoe Bay and Valdez, Alaska.

Alternatives: Therefore be it Resolved, That the Secretary of Interior immediately issue a *Final Environmental Impact Statement* in support of construction of the Trans-Alaska Pipeline and a permit for construction of the same; provided, however, that said impact statement provides for appropriate safeguards for the environment of Alaska, ocean shipping lanes and gateway harbors.

Indochina Caucus

11.17 Below are listed the resolutions proposed at an open meeting on Indochina. The balloting on these, distinguishing youth and adult delegates, is recorded at the end of the Indochina Caucus on page 276.

People's Peace Treaty

11.17a Be it resolved that the White House Conference on Youth adopt the People's Peace Treaty between the people of the U.S. and the people of North and South Vietnam, and commits itself to take steps toward achieving its implementation.

Introduction: Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the name of the people of the United States, but without our consent. It destroys the land and the people of Vietnam. It drains America of her resources, her youth and her honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth. In rejecting the war we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination against people based on color, class, sex, national origin and ethnic grouping which form a basis of the war policies, present and past, of the United States.

Principles of the Joint Treaty of Peace: Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam, and publicly to set the date by which all U.S. military forces will be removed.

Vietnamese agree to participate in an immediate cease-fire, and will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops, and to secure release of all military prisoners.

Americans pledge to stop imposing Thieu, Ky and Khiem on the people of Vietnam in order to ensure their right to self-determination, and to ensure that all political prisoners are released.

Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections, in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops, and to enter discussions of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of persons who cooperated with either side in the war.

Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia.

> Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war. We will resolve all other questions in mutual respect for the rights of self-determination of the people of Vietnam and of the United States.

Vietnamization Proposals

11.17b We support the continued and accelerated withdrawal of American combat troops from Southeast Asia. We believe in the Vietnamization process on the grounds that nations should develop the capability to defend themselves.

Withdrawal of American troops must be based on factors including the safety of American troops and an agreement of the safe return of prisoners of war once the American combat involvement has ended.

We call for the increased diplomatic efforts to encourage the early exchange of prisoners of war between the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Viet Cong. We further call for the release of information on the names of prisoners now held by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, the flow of correspondence, and the inspection of such POW camps by the International Red Cross.

The government of the United States and its citizens must realize that we should have a continued interest in the development of the nations and peoples of Indochina. We encourage increased economic assistance to these nations over the next ten years.

We believe that America cannot once again return to a policy of isolationism, especially in Indochina, but must involve itself through cultural and economic assistance to aid these people throughout the 1970's.

Ground Cessation

11.17c The Indochina Caucus endorses total and immediate cessation of U.S. ground operations in Indochina.

Bombing Cessation

11.17d The Indochina Caucus endorses total and immediate cessation of U.S. bombing in Indochina.

December 31, 1971 Withdrawal

11.17e The White House Conference on Youth endorses the Vietnam Disengagement Act of 1971, and strongly urges its adoption and enactment by Congress and the President.

1. Congress finds and declares that under the Constitution of the United States the President and the Congress share responsibility for establishing, defining authority for, and concluding foreign military commitments; that the repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution raises new uncertainties about the source of authority for American involvement in Vietnam; that both the domestic and foreign policy interests of the United States require an expeditious end to the war in Vietnam; that the conflict can best be resolved through a political settlement among the parties concerned; that in light of all considerations, the solution which offers the greatest safety, the highest measure of honor, the best liklihood for the return of United States prisoners and the most meaningful opportunity for political settlements would be the establishment of a date certain for the orderly withdrawal of all United States Armed Forces from Vietnam.

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2. Chapter I of Part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

> *Section 620A.* In accordance with public statements of policy by the President, no funds authorized to be appropriated under this or any other act may be obligated or expended to maintain a troop level of more than 284,000 armed forces of the United States in Vietnam after May 1, 1971.
>
> *Section 620B.* After May 1, 1971, funds authorized or appropriated under this or any other act may be expended in connection with activities of American Armed Forces in and over Vietnam only to accomplish the following objectives:
>
> (1) To bring about the orderly termination of military operations there and the safe and systematic withdrawal of remaining American Armed Forces by December 31, 1971;
>
> (2) To insure the release of prisoners of war;
>
> (3) To arrange asylum or other means to assure the safety of South Vietnamese who might be physically endangered by withdrawal of American forces; and
>
> (4) To provide assistance to the Republic of Vietnam consistent with the foregoing objectives.

Economic Assistance

11.17f Whereas the United States has a continuing responsibility to the people of Indochina; and

Whereas it has consistently been an ideal of the United States to provide economic assistance towards social development of foreign nations; and

Whereas the United States has been directly responsible for destruction of people, agricultural lands and hospital facilities in Indochina; and

Whereas the United Nations has been an effective channel for administration of foreign assistance problems:

Therefore be it Resolved, That the Vietnam caucus of the White House Conference on Youth recommends agricultural support, development rehabilitation, and relief in the form of a two billion dollar grant to the people of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

Be it further resolved that these funds be administered by the United Nations.

Prisoners of War

11.17g Understanding that the present prisoner of war situation in Southeast Asia and in other areas of the world is not presently in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1954, and ratification by the United States in 1955 and South Vietnam in 1965, we propose that the White House Conference on Youth adopt a resolution which calls upon all parties to any armed conflict to comply with the terms and provisions of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war in order to insure humane treatment of all persons entitled to the protection of the convention and to permit regular inspection in accordance with the convention of all places of detention of prisoners of war by a protecting power or humanitarian organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Ecocide: Proposal

11.17h "The time has come to recognize the war in Southeast Asia for what it really is—an ecological disaster that ultimately destroys both the land and the people it purports to protect. . . . The great danger to the nation today lies not in our ideological or political differences but rather in our uncontrolled ability to destroy our common support system, the plant. . . ."

In this light, the vast majority of the Environment Task Force urges that the Indochina Caucus demand that the United States cease its policy of ecocide in Indochina.

Specifically, we urge that the following tactics be totally abandoned immediately:

1. All use of chlorophenoxy herbicides (2,4,5-T; 2,4-D, etc.) These defoliating agents have resulted in the direct destruction of food crops and in the destruction of natural mangrove ecosystems which are essential for the production of other foods such as fish. The herbicides have also been shown to cause birth defects in laboratory tests, and appear to be one of the major factors in the rapid increase in stillbirths and defective children born to Vietnamese women since massive defoliation was instigated. Destruction of forests has resulted in the elimination of niches for many species of animals, including man, and drastic decline in the production of rubber and rice, formerly the foundation of the Vietnamese economy.

2. Saturation bombing, which has resulted in significant nutritional and health hazards to noncombatants. This bombing policy has caused destruction of irrigation systems, destruction of peasant croplands, destruction of housing and sanitation facilities and massive relocation of peasant families.

3. All uses of persistent herbicidal agents such as picloram and cacodylic acid. These agents persist in the environment, leaving highly toxic residues, such as arsenic and preventing ecological restoration of the landscape for years.

4. All fire bombing, which destroys human life and property and which causes severe damage to natural life support systems.

5. All policies which have resulted in the traumatic urbanization of Vietnam. The massive migration of the peasants to the cities has not been accompanied by significant increases in services or employment required to provide a decent standard of living. The "pacification programs" have resulted in increased urban crime, prostitution, pollution, disease, malnutrition, and housing shortages.

Furthermore, the United States should not merely cease these destructive activities; rather, it must also instigate a comprehensive program for the restoration of the ecological balance of Indochina, relying largely on existing scientific expertise of the Indochinese themselves.

We believe that ecology, the study of the interdependent relationship of all things on earth, indicates the increasing penalty that will result from the needless destruction of life in any form. Now is the time to create the true ecological harmony of peace, human dignity and environmental quality. Therefore, we call upon the Administration, the Congress and the people of the United States to do whatever is necessary to bring about the withdrawal of all U.S. troops and a quick end to the war in Southeast Asia.

We cannot widen the war, in order to end it. We cannot destroy Vietnam, or the world, in order to save it.

Amnesty for Draft Violations

11.17i Whereas many thousands of young Americans of good conscience have been compelled by the nature of the draft, by the nature of the United States involvement in Indochina, and by the courage of their convictions to live in exile or in prison, let this meeting recommend:

That the White House Conference on Youth request President Nixon to grant amnesty to all Americans either exiled or incarcerated because of their moral beliefs.

Provisional Revolutionary Government

11.17j A Resolution calling for the White House Conference to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Vietnam.

We, the delegates to the White House Conference on Youth, want peace in Indochina and America. But we also want justice in Indochina and America. And, most of all, we want human liberation and self-determination in Indochina and America.

Although we cannot even imagine the horrors of war and repression suffered by the Indochinese people, we identify with the aspirations of the vast majority of the Indochinese peoples for peace, justice, independence, and neutrality. We must face squarely the fact that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam represents the leadership of the legitimate Vietnamese liberation movement. Thus, despite the fact that our government defines the P.R.G. as our "enemy", we the delegates to the White House Conference on Youth hereby express our solidarity with and support for the P.R.G.

We call for our government to immediately withdraw from Indochina militarily. We ask that vast resources be made available by our government according to the program of the P.R.G.

We dedicate ourselves as individuals to the vast, but beautiful task of creating a liberation movement within America that expresses its solidarity with the Indochinese liberation movement by being true to the highest of human values.

Resignation of President Nixon

11.17k In view of the abominable and destructive policies against human life, men, women and children in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia;

In view of the fact we the people are supposed to be responsible for the government practices;

In view of the fact that the government has repeatedly lied to us;

We recommend the White House Conference on Youth delegates demand the immediate resignation of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew and all their staff.

Human Rights

11.17l It is proposed that: (a) The United States Senate ratify the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and (b) Allow it to be legitimately cited in litigation.

United Nations and Geneva Conference

11.17m In light of the continued deadlock in the Vietnamese peace negotiations we call on the United States government to:

1. Ask the Soviet Union and United Kingdom to reconvene the Geneva Conference of 1954 and also to consider expanding Asian membership.

2. Request the United Nations and its members, especially the Asian ones, to mediate and supervise a peace conference for Southeast Asia and the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

Abolish SEATO

11.17n The Indochina Caucus proposes:

1. The South East Asian Treaty Organization be abandoned and replaced by a regional co-operative peaceful alliance for development and resource management.

2. A portion of the vast expenditure on the Indochinese war be returned to the co-operative alliance for all sorts of repairs which are necessary, though nevertheless inadequate to make up for the incalculably great damages.

World Court and National Sovereignty

11.17o It is proposed that the Caucus on Indochina, and the entire Conference as a unit:

1. Call upon the United States Congress to abrogate the Connally Amendment, thereby giving the International Court of Justice jurisdiction over the affairs of the United States without its government's specific approval.

2. Call upon all other nations, especially the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, to take the reciprocal steps necessary to reduce national sovereignty in matters of international law.

International Recognition

11.17p Be it Resolved that Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam and the People's Republic of China be:

1. Granted admittance into the United Nations and all of its "family" of agencies.

2. Given diplomatic recognition by the governments of all nations especially the United States.

3. Contacted non-politically in cultural exchanges between private citizens and non-governmental organization.

4. Be invited to assist United States citizens in repairing reparable environmental and human damage in Indochina once the conflict there is ended and U.S. presence of all sorts is eliminated.

China Policy

11.17q Whereas the promotion of a lasting peace in Asia, including a stable resolution of the conflicts in Indochina requires a normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China; and

Whereas the Nixon Administration has responded promptly and constructively to the recent initiatives of the People's Republic of China to promote freer contact between citizens of the two countries;

Be it Resolved, That it is the sense of the White House Conference on Youth that the United States Government be commended for its rapid and positive response to initial Communist Chinese overtures; and

Be it further Resolved, That the Conference urges the United States Government to seize every possible opportunity to promote better relations with the People's Republic of China, culminating in recognition and the establishment of full diplomatic relations. We agree with the President that "there is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation."

RESULTS OF BALLOTING—YOUTH DELEGATES

Proposal Number	Total Votes Cast	Number "Yes"	Percentage "Yes"	Number "No"	Percentage "No"
11.17a	203	137	69	66	31
11.17b	186	57	31	129	69
11.17c	189	129	68	60	32
11.17d	191	163	85	28	15
11.17e	193	145	75	48	25
11.17f	178	131	74	47	26
11.17g	180	167	93	13	7
11.17h	179	163	91	16	9
11.17i	187	154	82	33	18
11.17j	156	58	40	98	60
11.17k	162	59	37	103	63
11.17l	152	126	83	26	17
11.17m	164	133	81	31	19
11.17n	150	85	57	65	43
11.17o	147	95	64	52	36
11.17p	164	138	80	26	20
11.17q	168	146	86	22	14

RESULTS OF BALLOTING—ADULT DELEGATES

Proposal Number	Total Votes Cast	Number "Yes"	Percentage "Yes"	Number "No"	Percentage "No"
11.17a	58	28	48	30	52
11.17b	53	24	45	29	55
11.17c	58	36	62	22	38
11.17d	58	41	71	17	29
11.17e	60	46	77	14	23
11.17f	53	39	74	14	26
11.17g	45	39	87	6	13
11.17h	50	38	76	12	24
11.17i	49	28	57	21	43
11.17j	40	10	25	30	75
11.17k	48	10	21	38	79
11.17l	48	41	85	7	15
11.17m	42	32	76	10	24
11.17n	44	23	52	21	48
11.17o	43	20	46	23	54
11.17p	45	27	60	18	40
11.17q	53	50	94	3	6

International Delegates' Caucus

11.18 We recommend that the various institutions in the U.S. concerned with international student affairs coordinate their activities to create a central data bank to collect and disseminate information about summer employment and available financial aid. This should be done within regional areas and could be conducted through monthly newsletters.

Legal Rights and Assistance

11.18a We request that the U.S. government make a formal statement of the legal rights of and guidelines for international students in the U.S. and make this statement available to each foreign student entering this country.

We recommend that legal assistance be given in the case of alleged transgressions of the legal rights of those international students who lack the necessary means to defend themselves.

Draft, Citizenship

11.18b At the present time, foreign citizens who are permanent residents on immigrant visas are liable for military induction. We recommend that until such a time as the draft is abolished, induction into the armed forces should constitute the option of immediate American citizenship for the foreign citizen.

The White House Conference on Youth condemns the action of the House of Representatives in amending the Selective Service Act so as to make subject to the draft full-time foreign students who have been in the United States more than four years, urges the Senate to defeat the amendment, and requests that Conference Chairman, Stephen Hess, communicate this message immediately to the Senate Armed Services Committee.

International Youth Center

11.18c We, the International Delegation, endorse the International Youth Center proposal.

Education Endorsement

11.18d We, the International Delegation, endorse the recommendations of the Task Force on Education concerning the international student.

Non-Public Education Caucus

11.19 One of the paramount challenges of our time is to recreate in our important institutions an environment congenial to the genuine pluralism that is indispensable to quality human development. Specifically, this nation needs a legal and educational system which will foster the truly human development of the person through cultural, ethnic, religious and intellectual diversity. We do not reject the collectivization of many human activities, but we doubt its application to the education of the mind and spirit.

A fundamental question is: can the law provide for educational diversity in our country or are we doomed to the establishment of an educational monolith? If pluralism dies in education, its ultimate survival in the cultural and intellectual areas of American life is threatened. Pluralism on the cultural and deeper personal-value levels is a fundamental good; from diversity on these levels come strength, creative option, and more important, the strongest practical foundation for personal freedom.

But apart from this general societal problem, we wish to express our concern for making plurality of educational choice available to all citizens regardless of race, economic class or creed. For the poor, America has provided no such choice. They can neither reside in the attendance area of their preferred school nor employ a non-public school to replace it. They have, in short, no option other than to attend the compulsory public school in the neighborhood they are forced by circumstances to inhabit. If the school is in a poor neighborhood, there is no access to the social culture that sets the central themes of modern life; if the neighborhood is black, there is little opportunity for social or racial integration.

In recent years a serious search at last has begun for solutions to the basic question of how can society provide freedom of choice for all classes, but particularly the poor. Many different proposals have been proferred: tax credits, tuition grants, purchase of services, auxiliary services, vouchers and categorical aid. We maintain that every existing and proposed form of state or Federal aid to education should be evaluated. In seeking such aid neither the non-public nor the public sectors should be viewed as competing for scarce educational dollars but as cooperating to attract increased community support for education and to make the most efficient use of available funds. On the practical level this means that legislation extending any degree of public support to educational services offered in non-public schools must include the provision for adequate funding sources which do not diminish or divert funds already committed to and needed by the public sector. Citizens, educators, and legislators should be fully informed of the importance of the non-public sector in maintaining and improving community educational services at a unit cost lower than that required in public institutions. At present non-public schools save the taxpayers billions of dollars each year in the states. Models of financial aid should permit families including the poor, to choose among educations of varying styles. Such assistance would necessarily demand assurance of fairness in the application of funds, safeguards against discrimination, and accounting systems to restrict tax monies to secular purposes in accord with the *Schempp* and *Allen* criteria.

The achievement of church-related schools in educating Americans through a quality of professional service that has enriched American education was acknowledged by Justice White in the *Board of Education v. Allen* (392 U.S. 236):

> Private education has played and is playing a significant and valuable role in raising national levels of knowledge, competence and experience. Americans care about the quality of the secular education available to their children. They have considered high quality education to be an indispensable ingredient of achieving the kind of nation and the kind of citizenry that they have desired to create. Considering this attitude, the continued willingness to rely on non-public school systems, including parochial systems, strongly suggests that a wide segment of informed opinion, legislative and otherwise, has found that those schools do an acceptable job of providing secular education to their students. This judgment is further evidence that parochial schools are performing, in addition to their sectarian function, the task of secular education.

Properly fashioned, financial aid to education according to the above criteria could for the first time in our history, provide variety, freedom of choice, accountability, integration and equality of opportunity within tax financed education.

We urge the states and the Federal government to undertake serious experimentation with all of these systems of aid. It is time that the rhetoric of freedom, equality and plurality of choice be given substance for all income classes in American society.

Socialist Caucus

11.20 The 10 subject areas of the WHCY represent a broad range of the problems confronting the U.S. today. The depth and urgency of these problems has been a continuing source of despair among youth.

However, it is this very fact which gives us hope of an answer to all these problems. The increase in societal troubles is just a symptom of the inevitable decay of the imperialist system. Since the big capitalist corporations must always expand their markets to keep up with competition and improved technology, these viruses were a predictable result.

Of course, no one wants the war in Indochina, but U.S. investment abroad needs to be expanded, not reduced, if the big corporations are to keep making their profits. And likewise, no one wants to destroy the environment, but industry must exploit resources as well as people in order to make the maximum profit. And the drive to make the maximum profit is the basis of the capitalist system.

What this means to the youth of this country (and the world) is that these problems can be really solved in only one way. These are not the problems of the ruling class that runs the U.S. The destructive effects of economic recession, poverty, war, the draft, injustice and so on are not problems of the wealthy elite who hold the real power in this society. They are the problems of the great mass of people who are exploited by the capitalist system.

Therefore, the only way we we can ever hope to really solve these problems rather than modify them is the complete overthrow of the ruling class and their capitalist system. The working class must substitute a system of democratic socialism which allows the masses to determine their own future. We of the Socialist Caucus are certain that the people, once free of the capitalist bosses, will create a way of life free from imperialism, racism, sexism, poverty, and all the other forms of exploitation we now suffer.

Thus, we conclude that the only possible implementation of solutions to the problems we have been discussing here is by international socialist revolution. This must inevitably take the form of an armed struggle led by the youth of the working class.

Task Force on Foreign Relations Caucus

11.21 The Task Force on Foreign Relations has submitted two recommendations for a plenary vote regarding American foreign policy in Vietnam. These two recommendations, however significant, should not conceal the fact that the Task Force on Foreign Relations has taken a variety of important positions on other pressing and immediate world problems, as related to American foreign policies. We urge the delegates of the White House Conference on Youth review and endorse the *full* context of Task Force recommendations which appear in the conference proceedings.

White House Conference Proposal Caucus

11.22 A resolution proposing a White House Conference on Youth each four years.

Whereas the express purpose of the White House Conference on Youth is to offer a platform for the presentation of youth's viewpoint on problems confronting America and their possible solutions to those in power; and

Whereas a conference held each decade does not encounter the many generational and attitudinal changes of American society within that ten year period; and

Whereas the nation's educational institutions also produce several generations of different composition and attitudes within a decade, whose needs are not met or considered by a conference held every ten years; and

Whereas the governmental administrations of that ten year period need a continuous flow of relevant and futuristic ideas, which a conference held every four years would provide, in order to be effective in meeting the needs of the people, especially those of youth:

Be it resolved, The White House administrations, both the present and those of the future, establish, finance, and administer a national conference on youth in the middle of each presidential term.

Women's Caucus

11.23 In an era when the elimination of racism is finally beginning to receive some of the attention it deserves, the United States is still woefully remiss in combatting sexism. This country is still based on the male—the culture, the employment sector, the government; the U.S. ethos still does not consider the woman, black, white, brown or red, as a fully participating individual. She is a second-class citizen.

The White House Conference on Youth has perpetuated this sexist attitude. It took a six month battle—still not completely successful—to convince the staff that a female leader is a Chair*woman* not a chair*man*. This is not semantics, but recognition of the fact that women are individuals, not sub-groupings under the generic title "men." Just as minorities are not subgroups under the classification of whites and have the right to be recognized as black, brown, as Indians, as Asians, as Chicanos—different and equal to the whites—so too does the woman of any race have the right to her existence as a female.

More basic than this, though, is the lack of recognition of women's problems which pervades this Conference.

1. There is no Task Force on Women nor has there been any attempt to include women's problems within the purview of the other Task Forces.

2. Statistics on women have not been made available for Task Forces or delegates use, despite repeated requests for this.

3. Demographic representation of delegates regarding race, geographic background, age, etc. has been followed diligently for this Conference, except as regards women. Female representation at the Conference is 5 percent lower than female representation in the American population. This discrepancy is greater than for any other population factor, despite pre-Conference promises that females would be represented proportionately.

4. Notable, too, is the obvious lack of many feminist leaders, despite repeated requests by Task Force members that they be invited.

5. In the summary of Task Force reports, almost all references are specifically directed to the male, the word female being used only three times. Only one Task Force—Values, Ethics and Culture—made the effort to include both sexes in their references to individuals.

In all, the White House Conference on Youth has proved to be a microcosm of United States sexism. The problems of women have not been adequately considered within the Task Forces thus necessitating the formation of our Women's Caucus. We would much prefer to work side by side with our brothers in solving the problems that face the U.S. We are not here in adequate number, nor has the White House Conference on Youth staff through the direction of its research made this possible. We have tried to use the Task Force structure to make our problems known. In some cases, we have succeeded. Because many have not listened and so the Conference as a whole may hear our grievances, we are presenting to you recommendations by Task Force heading that should be made known.

We hope you will not see this as an effort to divide men and women. Rather we hope to unite us all—as equals.

Education

11.23a Counselors, faculty and administrators at all levels of education should be required to participate in courses which sensitize them towards the female's right of self-actualization. Specifically, women should be exposed to the full spectrum of career opportunities, without restriction to so-called "women's jobs."

All state education systems, as well as private institutions should immediately discontinue use of broadcasts which perpetuate the stereotypic role of women. All state text book committees should recall and refuse to purchase or use textbooks and other educational materials which ignore the role of women in history or undermine her potentiality to make unique contributions to society.

State school systems should appropriate more funds for the expansion and creation of programs for the continuing education of women.

The Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) and the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) should be funded to allow them to insure compliance of Title VII and the affirmative action plan.

Women's studies curricula should be developed for all educational levels.

Draft, National Service and Alternatives

11.23b We endorse immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and until such time as the draft is abolished, of which we also approve.

Standards of entrance and promotion as well as ranks and occupations within the armed forces should be equal for both women and men.

Drugs

11.23c Additional research needs to be conducted regarding the effects (long-term) of oral contraceptives. Research needs to be sponsored on new methods of contraception.

Physician prescribing habits need to be determined in regards to the types of drugs being prescribed to women (e.g. tranquilizers, sleeping medications). If women are being overdrugged, their prescribing habits need to be changed and women need to be informed of this.

Foreign Relations

11.23d We recommend that the United States ratify the recommendations of the Human Rights Convention of the United Nations dealing with the political rights of women. So far 72 countries have ratified these recommendations.

A comparative cross cultural study on the status of women should be conducted.

Finally, we recommend that *A Matter of Simple Justice* be distributed post-Conference to all delegates and staff of the White House Conference on Youth.

Economy and Employment

11.23e Management and labor should require their staffs to attend courses sensitizing them towards corporate and unionized sexism, e.g., myths about female absenteeism, which is actually lower than the male's, labor turnover, the fallacy of "men's jobs" for which women cannot qualify, the tendency to automatically place women in secretarial or other dead end jobs. The underutilization of women is the height of economic inefficiency, besides being unjust.

The Department of Human Resources, when established, should assure that a women's agency be given the authority and status to deal with the concerns of women. Until that time, the following proposals should be undertaken by either the Women's Bureau or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

1. Funds should be appropriated to establish a national clearing-house of information on women and to develop a comprehensive annotated register of women's organizations so that pertinent health, legal rights and relief, educational and employment information can be distributed nation-wide.

2. The Bureau of Labor Statistics should be required to provide statistical information by sex breakdown.

Legal Rights and Justice

11.23f All legislation that prohibits dissemination of birth control information or devices should be abolished.

The Equal Rights Amendment be immediately passed, as recommended by the Task Force on Economy and Employment.

Title VI be amended to include "sex".

Abortion should be legalized as the right of every woman to control her own body.

The Federal government should immediately seek to 'practice what it preaches' and hire more women in top level Federal positions, including ambassadorships.

Poverty

11.23g Universal child care and free health services should be instituted immediately, and should be located first in poverty areas, both rural and urban.

Values, Ethics and Culture

11.23h The mass media perpetuating the stereotypic roles of women and portraying females as sex objects should be subjected to intense public pressure and their licenses should be challenged.

All concerned individuals should reassess their purchasing policies and write letters of protest to producers or apply boycotts on the products of all companies using sexist advertising.

The feminist movement is not merely for women, but seeks to liberate males from their sexual roles as well. As long as a woman must be soft and sweet and dumb and stay in the home, the male will be required to be hard and strong and smart and "bring home the kill", regardless of individual preferences. All men and women, therefore, should attempt to familiarize themselves with the goals of the feminist movement, to liberate themselves as individuals.

Youth Ombudsman Caucus

11.24 Resolution to establish training of Youth Ombudsmen for all institutions dealing with youth problems.

Whereas institutions are in a state of turmoil bordering on potential structural breakdown of our entire system; and

Whereas many of these problems are a result of a serious bottleneck in communications networks within and between institutional systems; and

Whereas the rights of Youth are being subtly and unjustly violated without adequate machinery for redress of their legitimate grievances; and

Whereas creative and innovative changes sorely needed in our society are still not being implemented rapidly enough; and

Whereas policy makers do not have complete or even adequate access to innovative information nor have proper communication channels been designed for overcoming this inadequacy; and

Whereas this inadequate communication results in costly obsolescence and waste of manpower; and

Whereas the resources of our youth are still not being recognized or employed; and

Whereas youth frequently feel the frustration of suppression and a disregard in the decision-making processes of institutions causing them to feel unnecessarily alienated, hopeless and finally rebellious; and

Whereas the White House Conference on Youth offers a platform for young people to speak but does not offer a guarantee that their voices will be heard by those who can implement their suggestions and proposals; and

Whereas high schools, colleges, businesses, industry, professional organizations and other institutions are now using the ombudsman to serve as representative of the little man who is often not heard in a bureaucracy:

Be it Resolved, That the White House Conference on Youth go on record as recommending that each Task Force appoint its own Ombudsman who will train to insure that the suggestions and voices of the young people at this White House Conference will truly be heard and implemented in our Nation's Capital.

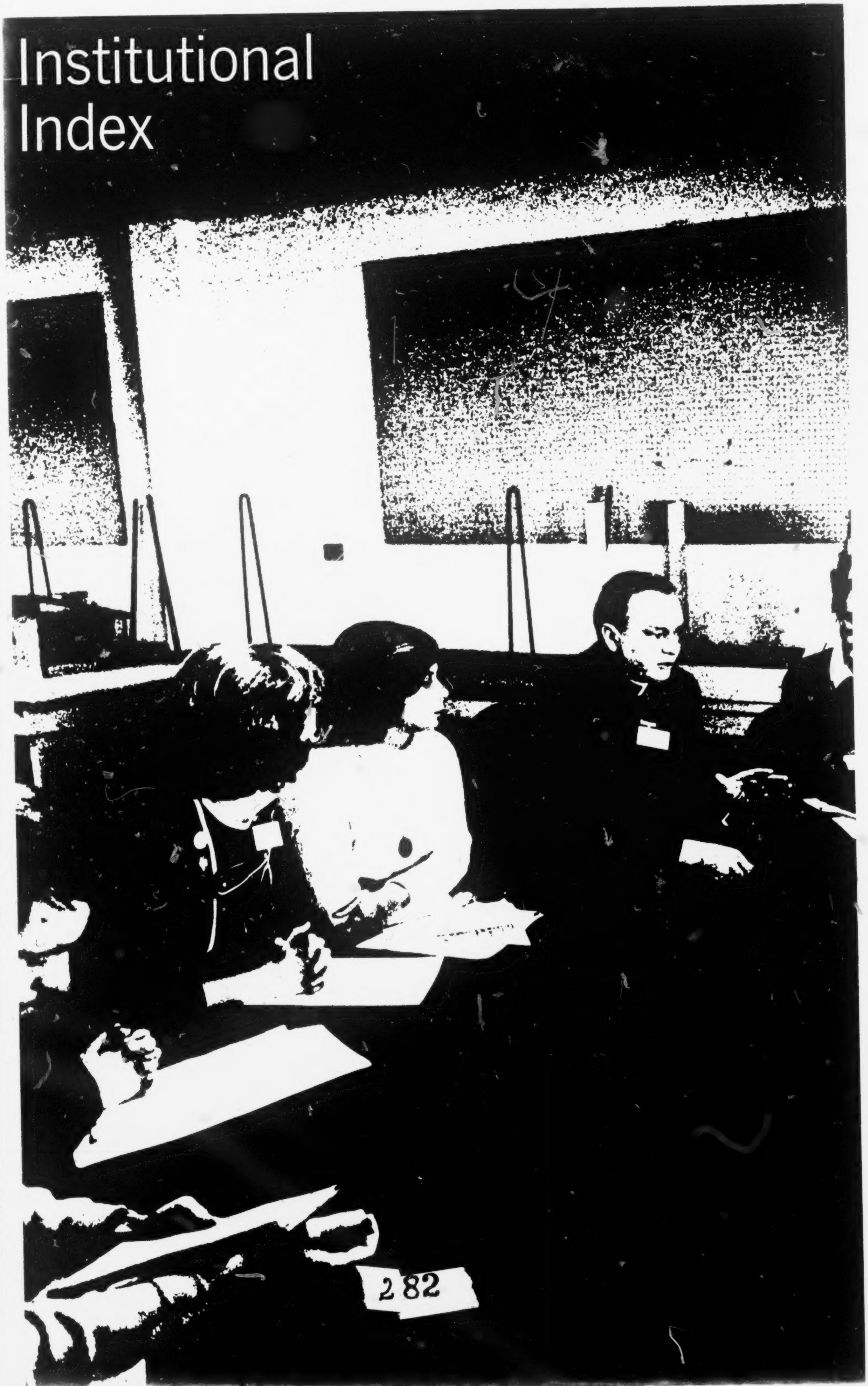
Appropriate legislation will be enacted to establish Youth Ombudsmen for Drugs, Environment, Education, Poverty and Minority Group problems.

Balloting Results

The ballot in no way indicated priorities of the Conference. Task Forces and Caucuses were given the option to place all, some, or none of their recommendations on the ballot. A total of 675 ballots were cast:

			YES	NO	UNDECIDED
Task Forces	2.0	DRUGS			
		Recommendation 2.8	336	168	38
	5.0	ENVIRONMENT			
		Preamble	512	71	42
		Recommendation 5.1	505	106	37
		Recommendation 5.2	645	16	13
		Recommendation 5.3	554	37	51
	6.0	FOREIGN RELATIONS			
		Recommendation 6.2	452	157	39
		Recommendation 6.2a	243	340	33
	7.0	LEGAL RIGHTS & JUSTICE			
		Recommendation 7.1	594	26	5
		Recommendation 7.1a	565	39	14
	10.0	VALUES, ETHICS & CULTURE			
		Recommendation 10.1	496	129	31
		Recommendation 10.7	571	49	38
Caucuses	11.1	ASIAN-PACIFIC CAUCUS	593	58	15
	11.5	AD-HOC WHCY IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE	465	66	44
	11.8	CAUCUS FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON YOUTH	503	75	28
	11.10	CIVIL LIBERTIES CAUCUS	448	130	81
	11.11	COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION CAUCUS	412	116	44
	11.14	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COLONIAL PEOPLE'S CAUCUS	547	60	30
	11.18	INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES CAUCUS			
		Recommendation 11.18	501	39	47
		Recommendation 11.18a	560	18	28
		Recommendation 11.18b	446	63	54
		Recommendation 11.18c	410	31	108
		Recommendation 11.18d	434	32	77
	11.22	WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PROPOSAL CAUCUS	500	101	37
	11.24	YOUTH OMBUDSMAN CAUCUS	248	155	122

Institutional Index



About the Indexes

While the recommendations in this report fall under subject headings, they are normally addressed to specific institutions or organizations. To facilitate the use of the report, recommendations and resolutions have been indexed by institution. The ten institutional categories utilized are :

- Arts and Humanities
- Business and Industry
- Education
- Government, Federal
- Government, State and Local
- International Organizations
- Judiciary and Law Enforcement
- Labor
- Private, Non-Profit and Volunteer Organizations
- Religious Organizations

Note: *The numbers used in this index refer to recommendation numbers, and not to page numbers. Bold face index entries refer to entire caucus statements which in most instances are not indexed in depth.*

Arts and Humanities

Recommendations relating to broadcasting, publishing, advertising and related mass media activities are indexed below.

Advertising, sex roles, 10.7a
Alternative life styles, 10.4b
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  Bi-Centennial, 9.6g, 10.1e
Appalachian Youth Caucus, 11.6
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  state and local support, 10.1f
  youth representation, 10.1g
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Business and Industry

The recommendations outlined below relate to business, industry and corporate life.

- Advertising, sex roles, 10.7a
- Age of majority, lower to 18, 7.1b
- Alaska Pipeline, 11.16
- Appalachian coal industry, 5.7c
- Apprenticeship programs, 9.4b
- Arctic Alaskan oil, 5.10
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Recommendations directed to judges, police officials, correctional officers, lawyers and law-enforcement activities are listed below .

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- Age of majority, lower to 18, 7.1b
- Alternative family life, 10.7c
  - guarantee, 10.4b
  - minority viewpoint, 10.7k
- American Bar Association, 7.6f
- Amnesty for draft violation, 1.1e
- **Asian Caucus,** 9.1
- **Asian-Pacific Caucus,** 11.1
- Birth control, 7.6c
- Capital punishment, abolish, 7.4
- Citizen rights of action, environmental planning, 5.6b
- Citizen suits to protect environment, 5.3
- **Civil Liberties Caucus,** 11.10
- Civil rights, law enforcement, 9.6c
- Civil rights of youth, 7.21
- Conscientious objectors, 1.1d
- Consenting adults, legal rights, 7.6e
- Correctional authority creation, 7.2a
- Correctional institutions, minimum standards, 7.2c
- Corrections, 7.2
- Court reform, 7.3
- Crimes without victims, 7.6
- Criminal law reform, 7.5
- Drug abuse, revise DOD policy, 2.1a
- Drug education, 2.12
- Drug education programs, 2.2
- Drug production, 2.4
  - enforcement of laws, 2.4a
- Drug record information, 2.1e
- Drug treatment, additional funds, 2.3a
- Drug use
  - alternatives to criminal law, 2.10
  - commitment to inpatient facilities, 2.5d
  - crackdown on organized crime, 2.5f
  - expunge records of conviction, 2.5a
  - modes of treatment, 2.5e
  - no criminal sanctions for personal use, 2.5
  - seller-user distinction, 2.5b
  - treatment in lieu of penalty, 2.5c
- Drugs, 7.6b
- Drugs Task Force, minority report, 2.10
- Education, equal opportunity, 4.3
- Family, alternative life styles, 10.2b, 10.4
- Federal Bureau of Investigation,
  - control by independent review board, 7.8
  - Hoover resignation, 11.10
- Foreign students, legal rights, 11.18a
- Homosexuals, 10.7d
- Human justice, 7.21
- Illegitimacy, 7.15
- Indians, legal rights, 11.3b
- Individual rights on the job, 3.13d
- Inter-racial families, 9.6p
- Invasion of privacy, 7.7
- Judicial reforms, 9.4e
- Juvenile advocate system, 7.23
- Juvenile court, review, 7.25
- Juvenile justice system,
  - improvement of system, 7.22
  - personnel upgrading, 7.28
- Juvenile records, availability, 7.22d
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- Legal education
  - clinical teaching in law schools, 7.17
  - for young people, 7.10b
- Legal rights, minority, 9.3g
- Marijuana
  - evaluation by Armed Forces, 2.1b
  - legalization, 2.8
  - prohibit legalization, 2.16
- Medical consent, 7.13
- Military justice, 7.11
- National Advisory Board on Corrections, 7.2a
- Police
  - reforms, 9.4c
  - relationship with Youth, 7.10
  - training and education, 7.10a
- Racism, scientific, 9.2
- Residence, right to emigrate, 7.16
- Sex roles and relationships, 10.7
  - equal rights, 10.7g
  - institutional responses, 10.7f
- Sexual responsibilities, standards, 10.7e
- Sexually restrictive legislation, repeal, 10.7h
- **Socialist Caucus,** 11.20
- Student rights, 11.12b
  - responsibilities, 7.9
- Tax exemption for consumer organizations, 3.18a
- United Nations, World Court decisions, 6.6g
- Voter registration, 9.3f
- Voting rights, 18-year-old vote, 6.15, 7.1
- **Women's Caucus,** 11.23
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- Youth model courts, establish, 7.27a
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Recommendations directed to union officials, labor-relations specialists, and others concerned with employment and the work environment are indexed below.

Age of majority, lower to 18, 7.1b
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Apprenticeship programs, 9.4b
Arctic Alaskan oil, 5.10
Arts, apprenticeship
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Arts craft union, 10.1h
Basic income floor, 11.7a
Black Workshop Report, 9.3
Child care centers, 3.16
Coal mining, 8.7, 8.9
Communications in work
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Consumer protection, 3.18
Consumer research fund, 3.18b
Cooperative education, 3.1c
Council on Youth Opportunities,
  reinstatement, 3.9
Decision-making in work
  situation, 3.13c
Defense budget, limit, 3.21
Dropouts, 4.4b
Drug production, 2.4
Education
  financing career relevant, 3.2
  national training
    programs, 9.5b
  pre-school, 8.2e
  vocational, 8.2j
Employment, minority hiring
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Equal Employment Opportunity
  Commission expand powers,
  3.15a
Family
  alternative life
    styles, 10.2b, 10.4
  economic security, 10.2a
Guaranteed adequate income, 8.1
Guaranteed annual income, 3.22
Hiring practices, 3.5
Housing, 8.3, 9.4f
  migrant workers, 8.11
  new towns, 8.11
  rehabilitation of
    community, 8.11
  rural, 8.11
Individual rights on the job, 3.13d
Industry relocation, 3.15e
Italo-American Caucus, 9.5
Job discrimination,
  eliminate, 3.15
Job opportunities, 9.2f, 9.6k, 9.6l
  meaningful work, 10.6a
Job placement centers, 3.8b
Job programs, disadvantaged
  youth, 3.7, 3.9b
Minimum wage, 3.14
Motivation in work
  environment, 3.13a
National Agency for Adequate
  Housing, 8.3b
National Job Information
  Service, 3.8
Office of Federal Contract
  Compliance, expansion, 3.15b
Public service employment, 3.12
Quality of life measure-
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Racial discrimination, 6.1
Racism, scientific, 9.2
Service learning programs, 8.5
Sex roles and relationships, 10.7
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State laws barring employment
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Tax deductions for environmental
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Tax exemption for consumer
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Teachers, revamp tenure
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Trade restrictions, 6.12d
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White House Conference on
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Women's Caucus, 11.23
Women's rights, 3.16
Work environment,
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Work opportunities
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    unemployment, 3.11b
  expand for persons outside
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Work sabbaticals, 3.4c
Work scheduling, 3.4
Work Scheduling, Office of, 3.4b
Work-study programs, 3.1
Youth employment, opportunities
  lacking, 3.15d

Private, Non-Profit and Volunteer Organizations

Recommendations relating to private, non-profit, professional and volunteer organizations, both national and local, are listed below.

Action Corps, endorsement, 1.2b
Alcoholism, 2.17
American Bar Association, 7.6f
American Revolution Bi-Centennial Commission, 10.1e
American-Samoan education programs, 4.8a
Appalachian Youth Caucus, 11.6
Arts, funding, 10.1a
Asian Caucus, 9.1
Birth control, 7.6c
Broadcasting, community involvement, 10.3g
Child care centers, 3.16
Citizen participation in environmental planning, 5.6a
Citizen rights of action, environmental planning, 5.6b
Community ecology centers, 5.8
Community involvement in education, 4.5
Community learning centers, 4.5b
Coordinated services, 9.2g
Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, 11.13
Counseling, 3.2, 4.4a, 8.2d, 9.6m, 9.6n
Cultural exchange, environmental protection, 5.14
Dropouts, 4.4b
Drug abuse
  education in military, 2.1d
Drug advertising
  ban except in professional journals, 2.4d
  role of Consumer Affairs Bureau, 2.11b
Drug education, 2.12
  cultural educational centers, 2.12c
  establish National Committee, 2.12g
  expert review of training materials, 2.12f
  use of paraprofessionals, 2.12c
Drug education programs, 2.2
Drug prevention, community education and action, 2.3d
Drug prevention information, innovative programs, 2.3d
Drug production, 2.4
  increase activity, 2.7
Drug research
  criteria for researchers, 2.7
Drug treatment
  additional funds, 2.3a
  community organizations, 2.14
  establish "hot-lines" in military, 2.1c
  menthadone program improvements, 2.3b
  therapeutic counseling in military, 2.1d
  unconventional programs, 2.14
Drugs Task Force, Minority report, 2.10
Education
  alternative systems, 4.4
  bi-lingual, 8.2h
  community control of schools, 8.2b
  employment relevant, 3.1
  exceptional students, 4.7
  expanded use of facilities, 4.5
  experimental and innovative systems, 4.1a
  financial aid for equal access, 4.3b
  higher, 8.2j
  Indian, 8.2g
  national policy, 4.10
  pre-school, 8.2e
  relevant curricula, 8.2f
  testing standards, 8.2i
  vocational, 8.2j
Educational exchange programs, 9.2i
Euro-American and White Ethnic Workshop Report, 9.4
Family life, 11.7b
Family planning, 5.4a
Foreign students
  coordinate information, 11.18a
  financing study in U.S., 4.8
Free Enterprise Caucus, 11.15
Health care, 8.4
Housing
  migrant workers, 8.11
  rehabilitation of community, 8.11
Human rights, 6.5
Hunger, 8.4c
Illegitimacy, 7.15
Indian Council statement, 11.3
Internal Revenue code, amendment to allow tax-exempt organizations to influence legislation, 5.3c
International Delegates Caucus, 11.18
International education, 4.8
Italo-American Caucus, 9.5
Juvenile advocate system, 7.23
Juvenile justice systems personnel upgrading, 7.28
Land use planners, competence, 5.6e
Libraries as multi-media learning centers, 10.3d
Mass media, sex roles in children's books, 10.7b
Mid-East
  people-to-people program, 6.3e
  U.N. Conference on Human Rights, 6.3g
National Council for Responsive Action, establish, 2.6
National Educational Opportunities Bank, 3.2a
National Environmental Corps, establish, 5.3d
National Service
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  reject compulsory, 1.2a
National Youth Cultural Exchange Program, 9.4a
Neighborhood Youth Corps, 9.4g
Old Age Assistance, 11.7d
Palestine refugees, 6.3, 6.3d
Pollution impact on urban areas, 5.6c
Population stabilization, 5.1, 5.4
Poverty, Indian, 11.3c
Public and private lands network, 5.7
Racism, 9.2, 9.4d, 10.1
  understanding cultural diversity, 9.2c
Recreation, 8.5
Right to life, 8.10
School lunch programs, 8.2c
Schools as community laboratories, 4.5a
Service learning
  community involvement, 1.2d
  test programs, 1.2e
Service learning programs, 8.5
Sex education, 5.4c
Student rights and responsibilities, 7.9
Tax deductions for environmental pollution cooperative costs, 3.20
Tax exemption for consumer organizations, 3.18a
Teacher education, 4.6a
Teachers, revamp tenure system, 4.6b
Technology, 10.6
  ethical responsibilities of producers, 10.6b
Urban transportation, 5.6d
Venereal disease control, 7.14

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- Vietnam, release of prisoners, 6.2e, 6.2f
- Voter registration, 9.3f
- Welfare, replace current system, 3.22a
- White House Conference on Youth
  - **Ad-Hoc Implementation Committee,** 11.5
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  - follow-up activities, 7.19
  - implementation, 6.14, 11.8
- Women's rights, 3.16, 7.12
- World Environmental Organization, creation, 5.5a
- **Youth Ombudsman Caucus,** 11.24

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Recommendations directed to church and religious organizations are outlined below.

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Age of majority, lower to 18, 7.1b
Alcoholism, 2.17
Alternative family life, 10.2b, 10.4, 10.7c
  guarantee, 10.4b
  minority report, 10.7k
Asian Caucus, 9.1
Birth control, 7.6c
Black Workshop Report, 9.3
Blacknamization, 9.3a
Catholic Charities Caucus, 11.9
Catholic Coordinating Committee, 11.7
Commitment to Education Caucus, 11.11
Community learning centers, 4.5b
Conscientious objectors, 1.1d
Consenting adults, legal rights, 7.6e
Coordinated services, 9.2g
Council of National Organizations for Children and Youth, 11.13
Crimes without victims, 7.6
Drug abuse, therapeutic counseling in military, 2.1d
Drug education, 2.12
  cultural educational centers, 2.12c
  establish National Committee, 2.12g
  expert review of training materials, 2.12f
  use of paraprofessionals, 2.12c
Drug education programs, 2.2
Drug prevention, community education and action, 2.3d
Drug prevention information, innovative programs, 2.3d
Drug treatment
  community organizations, 2.14
  establish "hot-lines" in military, 2.1c
  methadone program improvements, 2.3b
  unconventional programs, 2.14
Drug research, increase activity, 2.7
Drugs, 7.6b
Education
  alternative systems, 4.4
  religious and cultural diversity, 10.5e
Educational exchange programs, 9.2i
Family life, 11.7b
Family planning, 5.4a
Homosexuals, 10.7d
Human rights, 6.5
Human rights declaration, U.S. sign, 11.17l
Illegitimacy, 7.15
Inter-racial families, 9.6p
Italo-American Caucus, 9.5
Medical consent, 7.13
Mid-East, people-to-people program, 6.3e
National Council for Responsive Action, establish, 2.6
National Youth Cultural Exchange Program, 9.4a
Neighborhood Youth Corps, 9.4g
Non-Public Education Caucus, 11.19
Non-public schools aid, 11.7f
Old Age Assistance, 11.7d
Palestine refugees, 6.3, 6.3d
Poverty, Indian, 11.3c
Quality of life, 11.7c
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Program
W. David Knox, Director
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Myra Washington

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Carolyn Boiarsky, *Education*
Samuel Bradley, *Legal Rights and Justice*
Linnell Broecker, *Drugs*
John Cohrssen, *Drugs*
Elizabeth Ferree, *Values, Ethics and Culture*
Joy Fleischer, *Poverty*
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Andrew Sansom, *Environment*
Michael Searles, *Race and Minority Group Relations*
Luiz Simmons, *Foreign Relations*
Roy Werner, *Draft, National Service and Alternatives*

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Dorothy Hitselberger
Lynne Pace
Suzanne Parody
John Runyan
Tin-Swe Thant
Cynthia Walker

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Hamid Khosrovi
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Vernard Gray
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Gilbert Youth Research, Inc.
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George Mihaly

David Gottlieb
The Pennsylvania State University

Institute for Personal Effectiveness in Children
San Diego, Calif.
Boris Bagdassarroff
Therese Livingston
George Taylor

Organization :: Response
Washington, D.C.
Phillip C. Ritterbush

Acknowledgements

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Richard C. Spitzer

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Julieanne Haefeli
Bernard B. O'Hayre

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